

The ART *Quarterly*

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Edited by W. R. VALENTINER *and* E. P. RICHARDSON

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Fig. 1. JAMES A. MCNEILL WHISTLER, *Nocturne in Black and Gold, The Falling Rocket*, The Detroit Institute of Arts

NOCTURNE IN BLACK AND GOLD: THE FALLING ROCKET BY WHISTLER

By E. P. RICHARDSON

IT is interesting how little difference there is in the principles of art held by artists of the most varied outlook. Whistler's belief that "art is not the exact reproduction of Nature but its interpretation, and that the artist must seek his motives in Nature, and then weave from them a beautiful pattern on his canvas"¹ is the same in principle as the remark of Cézanne (an artist whom Whistler disliked intensely) that "art is a harmony parallel to nature" and with the principles of many a good painter before or since whose work has been realistic, decorative, ideal, or abstract. The differences between artists arise as principles are translated into practice, when at once the artist's idiosyncrasy, the situation of painting in a particular spot, the stage of development of our civilization, all make themselves evident.

Looking back upon the work of Whistler, it seems today that what makes his "interpretation" memorable is his special sense of refinement and elegance. An interest in light and color he shared with the Impressionists in France. But his fastidious and delicate sensibility, stimulated by a study of Japanese art to add an element of pattern, and by his love of Velasquez to work in a cool and muted color palette, produced his own form of decorative impressionism which is an extremely original achievement. As his special gifts developed and ripened, they tended to isolate him from both the pre-Raphaelites working around him in London and from his French friends and contemporaries. How much his growing sense of isolation in the world of art, during the brilliant and fertile years which followed his move to London, had to do with the growing aggressiveness, the violent and cruel attacks upon all who aroused his spleen, which were the dark side of his character, no one can say. James Laver² in a recent biography of Whistler, has advanced the interesting thesis that his growing irritability may be attributed to a morbid sensitiveness about his action, or rather his lack of action, in remaining out of the Civil War when, as an officer and gentleman of Virginia ancestry, he felt he should have played the part of a man of action. The expression of this secret uneasiness, Mr. Laver suggests very plausibly, was his fantastic journey to Valparaiso in 1866 to serve as an officer in a revolutionary army and to prove that he too could be

a soldier. It was an *opera bouffe* affair and he quickly returned to London but the trip was not wholly without fruit. While in Chile he painted three views of the harbor which may be considered the earliest of his nocturnes. Unfortunately he also brought back the belligerence which led his friend Rossetti to write:

There's a combative artist named Whistler,
Who is, like his hog hairs, a bristler.
A tube of white lead
And a punch on the head
Offered varied attractions to Whistler.

In the later 1860's Whistler began to develop his distinctive style. He laid aside the thick paint which he had used in his early works, under the influence of Courbet, for very thin liquid color which in the *Nocturnes* he washed on his canvases almost as if it were water color. His exquisite decorative taste led him to simplify the atmospheric colors of impressionism into a restricted and delicately adjusted scale of tones, while he simplified the contours of things into fastidiously studied patterns. To express his decorative aims he began calling his pictures Symphonies, Arrangements, Nocturnes. The landscapes or Nocturnes represent the perfection of his sense of elegance and refinement, and are probably his most original conception.

His contemporary impressionists in France were lovers of the sun. Whistler was unique in his passion for twilight and night. He exhibited an impression of night called a *Nocturne* for the first time in 1872 at the Dudley Gallery,³ a London gallery which had opened an annual exhibition in 1867 to make room for artists rejected by the Academy. The greater number of the *Nocturnes* were painted in the years 1872-74, say the Pennells,⁴ and were impressions of the Thames, of Cremorne Gardens, or Trafalgar Square. These were the years of some of his greatest portraits, also—his *Portrait of his Mother*, of *Carlyle*, *Miss Cicely Alexander*, *Mrs. Leyland* and *Irving*. At this time, although he had to meet a growing opposition from the Royal Academy and the London critics, he had the support of a group of generous English patrons and was enjoying a great social success in London. His "Sunday breakfasts" became an institution and he began to build himself an expensive house. In October, 1875, he sent to the Dudley Gallery's winter exhibition a *Nocturne in Black and Gold*, *The Falling Rocket*, an impression of fireworks in Cremorne Gardens at night, which was to become one of his most famous



*Fig. 2. JAMES A. MCNEILL WHISTLER
Arrangement in Black, No. III
Sir Henry Irving as Philip II of Spain
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art*



*Fig. 3. JAMES A. MCNEILL WHISTLER
Arrangement in Brown
The Fur Jacket
Worcester Art Museum*



Fig. 4. JAMES A. MCNEILL WHISTLER
Nocturne in Blue and Gold, Old Battersea Bridge
 London, Tate Gallery



Fig. 5. JAMES A. MCNEILL WHISTLER
Arrangement in Grey and Black, No. II, Thomas Carlyle
 Glasgow Art Gallery

and notorious works. The following year, 1876, came the Peacock Room and the beginning of a series of quarrels which led him to disaster.

Whistler sent *The Falling Rocket* again to the first loan exhibition in May, 1877, at the newly organized Grosvenor Gallery. This exhibition was a decisive point in Whistler's life. The Grosvenor Gallery was organized as a protest against the conservative policy of the Royal Academy by Sir Coutts Lindsay, who brought both money, energy and ideas to the project. The artists invited to exhibit do not sound today like a crowd of rebels—Whistler, Rossetti, Burne-Jones, Holman Hunt, Walter Crane, Watts, Millais, Alma-Tadema, Poynter—and as a matter of fact, the last four were already established and accepted. Yet the fact that all these names retain some relevance today is proof of the force in the combination of these varied and dissimilar men. Whistler rose to the opportunity by sending a remarkable group of works, which formed a summary of the esthetic creed and achievement crystallized during the preceding ten years. There was the *Nocturne in Black and Gold, The Falling Rocket* (Fig. 1), which he had shown the previous year at the Dudley Gallery, that still seems one of the most challenging as well as the most brilliant of his *Nocturnes*. There were three portraits: *The Fur Jacket, Arrangement in Brown* (now in the Worcester Museum) (Fig. 3), *Sir Henry Irving as Philip II of Spain, Arrangement in Black, No. III* (now in the Metropolitan Museum) (Fig. 2) and *Thomas Carlyle, Arrangement in Grey and Black, No. II* (Glasgow Art Gallery) (Fig. 5). Mrs. Leyland loaned the *Nocturne in Blue and Silver, No. I* (now at the Fogg Museum) (Fig. 7), one of the most successful of his "Japanese" *Nocturnes*. *Nocturne in Blue and Gold, Old Battersea Bridge* (now in the Tate Gallery) (Fig. 4) and a *Nocturne in Blue and Gold, Westminster* (now in the Glasgow Art Gallery) (Fig. 6) completed a very well-planned group. The elegance, originality and freshness of his decorative impressionism were superbly stated. In selecting such a group for the exhibition Whistler must have felt a sense of achievement and the hope which inevitably accompanies it. The power of the group can be realized today by the slightest effort of historical imagination. It forms a complement to the exhibition of the Impressionists in Paris, in the preceding year, which Lionello Venturi spoke of as the climactic year of the movement. But while other painters in the Grosvenor Gallery exhibition were very popular, Whistler's pictures received a barrage of criticism. The most brutal attack came from Ruskin, in the July 2nd issue of his pamphlet to British working men, *Fors Clavigera*. "For Mr.

Whistler's own sake," he wrote, "no less than for the protection of the purchaser, Sir Coutts Lindsay ought not to have admitted works into the gallery in which the ill-educated conceit of the artist so nearly approached the aspect of willful imposture. I have seen, and heard, much of cockney impudence before now: but never expected to hear a coxcomb ask two hundred guineas for flinging a pot of paint in the public's face."

Whistler, never one to avoid a quarrel, sued Ruskin for libel, a suit which became one of the great artistic quarrels of the century. The crux of the suit was the question of whether or not the *Nocturne in Black and Gold, The Falling Rocket* was worth two hundred guineas. During the cross examination the Attorney-General developed the fact that Whistler had painted it in two days. You ask two hundred guineas then for two day's work? he asked; to which Whistler made the famous reply, "No, I ask it for the knowledge of a lifetime." The suit, as is well known, was decided in Whistler's favor and he was awarded a farthing's damages, but he had to pay his own costs. The public and critics, however, sided with Ruskin. The result was disaster for Whistler. The ridicule heaped upon his work made it difficult for him to sell his pictures. Sitters for portraits became very rare. Over and above this the building of his house had him in difficulties; he had accumulated debts; and the costs of the suit were too much for him. In May, 1879, he was declared bankrupt. His house and his china, his prints and some of his pictures were sold to pay his debts, and Whistler in November, 1880, went off to Venice a ruined man, to begin a set of etchings of Venice and to try to recoup his fortunes.

The reversal of contemporary opinion came slowly and, so far as the British public was concerned, as a result of the acceptance of Whistler's paintings in France. From 1867 until 1882 he had sent nothing to the Salon in Paris. Beginning in 1882 he sent a series of his best portraits to the Salon, where they were so well received that in November, 1891, the French government bought the *Portrait of his Mother* for the Luxembourg.⁸ Capitalizing upon this event, Whistler arranged an exhibition at the Goupil Gallery in London in March, 1892, which was a brilliant success and marked a complete change of opinion in England from hostility and ridicule to unlimited praise. *The Falling Rocket* which had remained in Whistler's possession for almost twenty years, was included in the exhibit and was purchased the following autumn by Mrs. Samuel Untermyer of New York. It remained in the Untermyers' possession until the dispersal of their collection in 1940 and now,

thanks to the generosity of Mr. Dexter M. Ferry, Jr., has found its way into the collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts.⁶

Whistler painted most of his *Nocturnes* on very absorbent canvas, with a wash of oil color so thin that it was like water color and the artist had sometimes to lay the canvas flat on the floor to keep the color from running. Whistler washed the liquid colors on, lightening or darkening the colors as he worked, to gain the prevailing tone. The accents were added after the general tone was dry. Many of the *Nocturnes*, being so thinly painted, seem now sunk in and lusterless; but *The Falling Rocket* was done on an oak panel and is as well preserved as any *Nocturne* I have seen. A suggestion of shadowy figures is seen in the foreground. But the real subject is the varying lights in the night sky—the flames and rolling smoke rising from the ground, and a shower of pink and gold sparks floating slowly down through the darkness from the exploding rocket. This sparkle of tiny colored lights drifting down out of the deep night sky is one of Whistler's most brilliant and felicitous achievements. Looked at today, the *Nocturne* seems one of the most poetic of Whistler's works, in which his art of poetic suggestion, his love of the enchantment of the night, his exquisite and subtle style, are exhibited in unusually happy form. Though famous, it has been so long hidden in a private collection that it comes before us almost as a fresh discovery of his art and as a dramatic landmark in the story of American painting.

Whistler's complex artistic personality is vividly summed up in this one work. Whistler the fighter, in spite of his wit, no longer interests us except as a phenomenon of what Mr. William Gaunt aptly called "The Aesthetic Adventure,"⁷ the art for art's sake movement of the nineteenth century, of which, on the whole, the world is now heartily tired. Whistler's technique of fighting, his fist fights, his lawsuits and biting insults, no longer seem, as they did to the Pennells, the lovable expressions of his genius and charm. His undeniable wit and bravado too often took the false form of exhibitionism. Degas made the best comment upon his quality of swagger and pose: "Whistler," he said once, "you behave as though you have no talent." It is a pleasure, rather, to turn to the other side of his nature and to admire his individuality of thought, his high conception of his art, his creative and artistic courage as it is shown in such a picture. It is not an easy thing to find one's way to a new conception of things, nor, having found it, to feel one's self isolated from one's time, out of fashion and alone. Whistler had the bravery to follow his own vision to its conclusion and to work out for it this

sure, effective and admirable statement. It is still not an easy picture: it still does not give its answer at first glance. But it sums up the imaginative vision, the refinement and subtlety of style and the esthetic courage of a true artist.

¹ E. R. and J. Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, London, 1908, I, 147.

² James Laver, *Whistler*, New York, 1930, pp. 128-130.

³ Pennell, *op. cit.*, I, 157.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 166.

⁵ Theodore Duret, *Whistler*, pp. 100-105.

⁶ Oak panel: h. 23 $\frac{1}{4}$; w. 18 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Gift of Dexter M. Ferry, Jr., 1946. Acc. no. 46.309.

⁷ William Gaunt, *The Aesthetic Adventure*, New York, 1945.

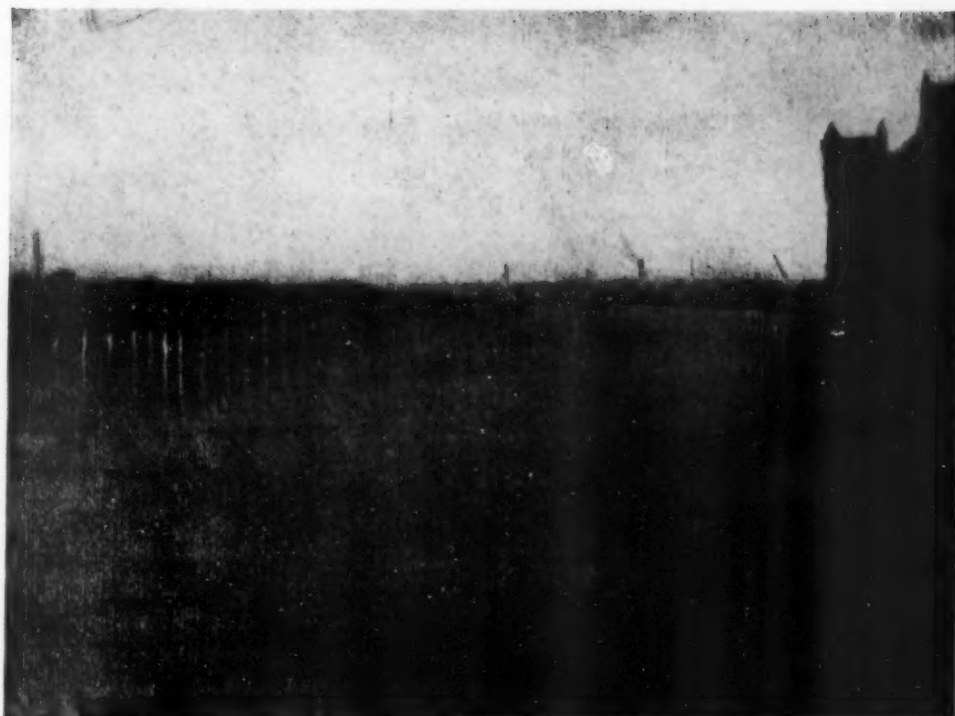


Fig. 6. JAMES A. MCNEILL WHISTLER
Nocturne in Blue and Gold, Westminster
 Glasgow Art Gallery



Fig. 7. JAMES A. MCNEILL WHISTLER
Nocturne in Blue and Silver, No. 1
 Cambridge, Fogg Museum of Art
 Grenville Winthrop Bequest

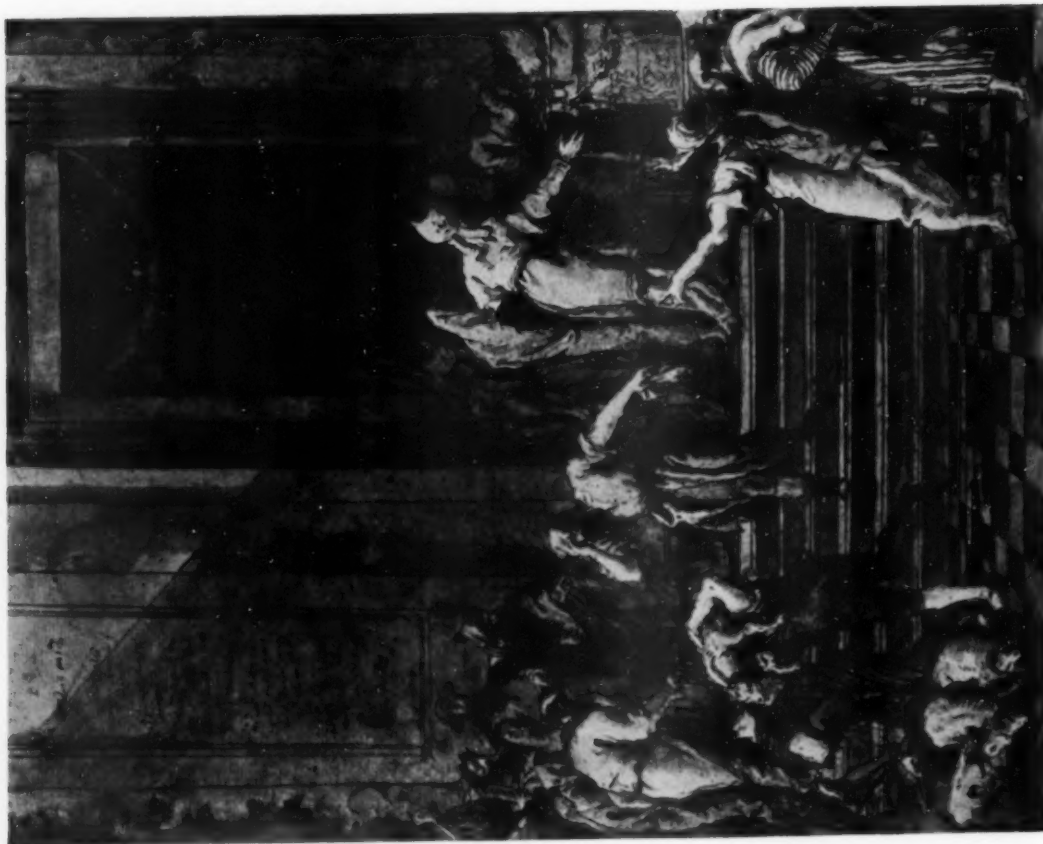


Fig. 1. GIOVANNI DOMENICO TIEPOLO
The Refusal of Joachim's Offering (drawing)
 New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library

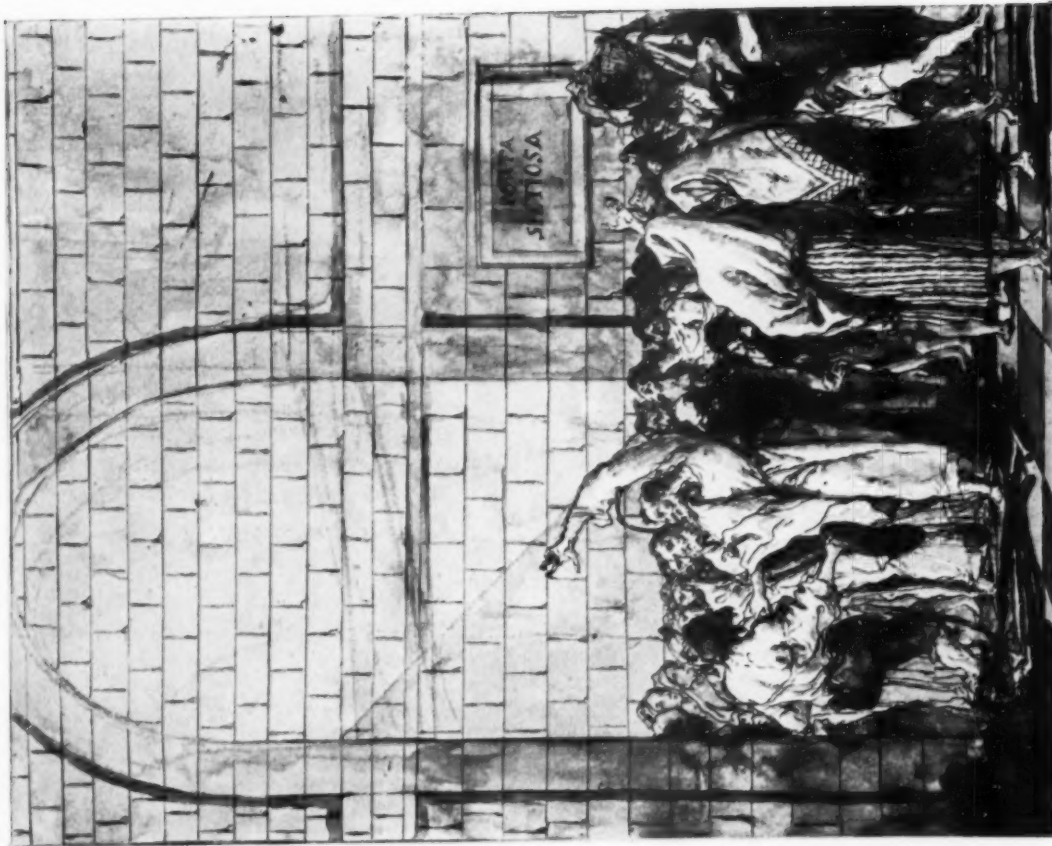


Fig. 2. GIOVANNI DOMENICO TIEPOLO
St. Peter and St. John at the Porta Spetiosa (drawing)
 New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library

DOMENICO TIEPOLO, DRAUGHTSMAN AND PAINTER OF ARCHITECTURE

By OTTO BENESCH

GIOVANNI BATTISTA TIEPOLO occasionally made washed pen sketches of buildings: parts of villas, farmsteads, courtyards, country houses, flooded by the dazzling sunlight of the South which effaces details—impressions noted down ingeniously by a master who was captivated by the picturesque aspect. His son Giovanni Domenico sometimes made use of such sketches by his father for compositions of his own. He used for instance the naturalistic motif of a drawing by Giovanni Battista as a setting for a mythological or fantastic scene; or he transferred the villas and country houses with their flat roofs to imaginary city prospects which he expanded in the background of his drawings. Here and there we also find among his drawings a sketch from nature such as the *Bastions of Brescia* (D. v. Hadeln, *Drawings of Tiepolo*, Vol. II, pl. 190).

In the late phase of Domenico's career, we find an approach to architecture which we do not notice in the work of his father: an interest in the interior. Interiors in the *oeuvre* of Giovanni Battista are only important as a decorative framework for figure scenes which remain the main purpose. Architectonic space as such was without deeper interest for Giovanni Battista. Therefore he clings to columns, cornices, balustrades, galleries, to all the rich implements of architectonic decoration, but without paying too much attention to the substance and bulk of the buildings as such, to architectonic space as a value of its own, co-ordinated with the figure composition or even dominating it. This use of architectonic space is, however, to be found in the late works of his son.

Some drawings of the *Life of the Virgin and Christ* in the Pierpont Morgan Library may serve as an illustration. Width of space is significant for the whole series of large-sized sheets. It becomes particularly revealing when interior scenes are represented. *The Refusal of Joachim's Offering* takes place in the vestibule of a temple of tremendous size (Fig. 1). We can guess its size from the magnitude of the door leading into the dark interior into which the priests throng, turning their backs upon Joachim. The patriarch staggers down the stair in deep distress, avoiding the attention of the bystanders. The building exhales a gloomy grandeur like a solemn marble prison. Majestic inscription tablets cover the wall, inviting the imagination

of the onlooker to rise beyond the upper margin. A checkered pavement pushes the stage back somewhat without reducing its size. With the help of bistre washes, this architectonic stage is plunged into half-darkness, out of which the main figures shine effectively. High up, a faint slanting ray of light shines in from the left.

Although given in a fragmentary section only, the architecture dominates the figure composition, encloses it like a dark prison and also tinges it with its gloomy, threatening mood. The mood is the same which fills Piranesi's monumental vistas of Roman remains and the gloomy interiors of his *Carceri*. The second edition of the *Carceri* was published in 1762.

The Life of the Virgin and Christ is a late work of Domenico. In his late genre drawings and caricatures, Domenico indicates the approach of the neo-classic era which brought about not only a new monumentality but also a new realism. We notice this realism in Goya's *Caprichos* as well as in Domenico's genre drawings. In both cases, it was strongly inspired by the English eighteenth century caricaturists. But the new monumentality also finds an expression in the architectonic inventions of Domenico's late period. The drawing *St. Peter and St. John at the Porta Spetiosa* in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Fig. 2) offers another example. First, the artist drew the figure composition on a checker pavement in the lower portion and lightly indicated the perspective recess of the doorway with slanting chalk lines. Then he covered the entire surface of the large sheet with a horizontal pattern of ashlar, using a ruler. He, so to speak, "walled up" the space, locked his figure composition in a stone prison. Finally, he drew the round arch of the door into this pattern, seen in perspective and differentiated by washes, without reference to the strata of ashlar. This architectonic effect is strongly in line with the neo-classic taste, with its feeling for the colossal and massive, superhuman and gigantic, as we see it in Piranesi's *Carceri*.

A painting by Domenico, *Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery* (formerly in the Marcel von Nemes Collection) (Fig. 3), shows the two different architectonic principles: the old one working with decorative elements, and the new one working with mass and substance. The stage opens onto a background formed by ornate columns and arches, following the models of Veronese, Feti and Giovanni Battista Tiepolo. This background, spread in relief, is separated from the proscenium by the ends of mightily protruding walls which, with their heavy structure of ashlar, belong to a building of the kind we see in the drawings of the Morgan Library.

Domenico's vivid interest in architecture is proved by a painting of his which is not recognized as such because it is a pure "piece of architecture," a subject matter not observed so far in the art of the Tiepoli. It is the *Court of a Palace* in the John G. Johnson Collection in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, attributed to Michele Marieschi (Fig. 4). The subject matter of the small painting (14 x 22 inches) is the stair-case of a dilapidated palace opening into a courtyard. Deep gloom covers the foreground, overshadowed by tremendous vaults and massive Gothic columns which vary motifs observed on the Ducal Palace. The arches offer a view into the courtyard which remains in half-light. A dim ray of sunlight, no stronger than that in the *Refusal of Joachim's Offering*, is not strong enough to break the gloom. Walls of massive ashlar rise in the court, pierced by grilled windows. The entire space is "walled up," without the slightest glimpse of open air, and gives the impression of a subterranean dungeon—"In questa tomba oscura . . ." A little stair climbs still higher up between the merciless stone walls, as in Florestan's prison, and we do not know whether it ever will reach the light. This is the mood of Piranesi's *Carceri*, where gigantic forces are held enchained by cyclopic vaults and walls, a conflict full of tragic tension significant for the architectural feeling of the late eighteenth century.

When this painting was shown at the exhibition "Tiepolo and his Contemporaries" at the Metropolitan Museum in 1938, the note to it in the catalogue emphasized Marieschi's role as a precursor of Piranesi. The observation of Piranesi's style in the painting is correct, yet bears evidence against the authorship of Marieschi. Marieschi died in 1743. All his paintings are either views or fanciful "capricci" in the style of Visentini, Canaletto and Guardi, in which architecture forms only part of a picturesque totality. He would hardly show so exclusive an interest in an architectonic object as did the painter of the *Court*. The latter is not a precursor but a follower of Piranesi. We may find a related surface quality of crumbling walls in Marieschi's paintings, even similar columns and capitals deriving from the Ducal Palace, but never the rigid and pathetic quality of a stone prison, exactly drawn with ruler and compass. Marieschi's paintings always reveal greater lightness of mood, flickering and scintillating according to their capricious invention.

The clue to the author of the painting was first given to me by the figures which animate its golden-grayish dusk with jewel-like bits of color. Those figures, if one examines them stroke by stroke, are Tiepolo: not only the

Oriental resting at the column but also the woman entering the side door, the cloaked men in the Cortile and on the stairs, and even the dogs loitering around. Particularly, the little greyhound in the foreground is well known to us from the "Divvertimento per li ragazzi" and many animal capriccios. The graphology of Domenico in these small details and their design with the brush is unmistakable.

A comparison of the building itself with those seen in *The Life of the Virgin and Christ* will only confirm the fact that Domenico Tiepolo was well able to create an architectonic subject of such striking, defiant character and sombre majesty.



Fig. 3. GIOVANNI DOMENICO TIEPOLO
Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery
 Formerly Marcel von Nemes Coll.



Fig. 4. GIOVANNI DOMENICO TIEPOLO
Court of a Palace
 Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Art Coll.



Fig. 1. ASSISTANT OF DUCCIO, *Scenes from the Life of Christ, and from the Lives of the Virgin and St. Francis, with fourteen figures of Saints*
New York, Private Coll.

ASSISTANT OF DUCCIO: SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF CHRIST, AND FROM THE LIVES OF THE VIRGIN AND ST. FRANCIS, WITH FOURTEEN FIGURES OF SAINTS

By R. LANGTON DOUGLAS

THIS panel (Fig. 1), which is now in New York, probably decorated the back of a small altarpiece in some Franciscan convent. It is a characteristic work of the school of Siena, painted in the penultimate decade of the ducento, by a master who gave artistic expression to the emotions aroused, in his native Tuscany and in Umbria, by the example and the teachings of St. Francis, and by the moving sermons of his faithful followers.

There are, I hold, definite grounds for the belief that this panel is by an early assistant of Duccio who executed the paintings on the frame of that great altarpiece the Rucellai *Madonna*. Some of those who have written on this *ancona* are convinced that the entire work—the picture and the paintings on the frame—are by one hand. But this conclusion seems to me to be untenable. The decorations on the frame are by an early Sienese artist whose style is quite distinct from that of Duccio. In his work there are traces of Byzantine influence, but he had also been influenced fundamentally by the new movement in Italian art. He owed much to such Sienese masters as Guido da Siena and the nameless author of the *St. Peter Enthroned* in the Siena Gallery.

The evidence, both documentary and morphological for the attribution to Duccio of the Rucellai *Madonna* is overwhelming, and is accepted as conclusive by most modern writers on early Italian schools of painting.¹ The contract for this altarpiece is dated April 15, 1285.²

It is a significant fact that artists of the school of Siena were chosen for two of the most important commissions for altarpieces that were given in Florence in the last two decades of the thirteenth century. The two chief centers in Florence of the new movements in Christendom were the churches of those preaching Orders that were at that time so powerful in Tuscany, the Franciscan church of Santa Croce and the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella. Those who had the charge of each of these two churches, at the time when an altarpiece was wanted for its high altar, did not give the commission to a local master but to an artist from the rival republic of Siena. The Dominicans selected Duccio and the Franciscans, Ugolino da Siena.³

The reasons for this preference are not difficult to determine. The school of Siena in the thirteenth century and in the early decades of the fourteenth century, while it was in some respects less revolutionary than the Florentine, was by no means as *retardataire* as it has been represented to have been by some eminent art historians. The hieratic splendor of the early Sienese altarpieces had, of course, a strong appeal for those who in that age were the chief patrons of the arts. But this was not all that the masters of Siena had to offer. Their works expressed the feelings of an impressionable people, whose emotions had been kindled and stimulated by the sincere and passionate advocates of the new movement in the church. This Franciscan Renaissance was, at one and the same time, a profoundly religious movement and a humanist movement. While the Sienese did not give the figures that they painted the bulky forms that we see in Giotto's frescoes, their representations of the human body were far more full of life than those that we find in the works of their predecessors in Tuscany or than those that were being painted by artists of the Venetian school. In their expression of human feeling, they were at least thirty or forty years in advance of their contemporaries in Northern Italy.

When we compare such paintings as the Sienese panel which is the subject of this article with the works of Venetian artists of the closing decade of the ducento and the earlier half of the trecento, we can estimate at their proper value the radical differences that existed between these two early schools of painting. Both schools were influenced by the revived art of Byzantium. The Northern artists, mosaicists, painters and miniaturists, were dominated by it. Many of the artists of Tuscany, on the other hand, while they were influenced by neo-Byzantine art, succeeded in expressing, more and more, their own emotions and in creating a new thing in art. Only a critic who is unable to recognize this difference—a difference which characterizes the works of some quite minor Tuscan artists—can fail to perceive the existence of a new movement in art, in Siena and Pisa as well as in Florence.

Such a fundamental dissimilarity between groups of artists exists in every period of art history. There are here today, in this fashion-ridden city of New York, many modern artists, some of them men with considerable technical skill, who live umbilically. There are also other artists, by far less numerous, who convey to us, as well as they are able, their own emotions, and who in doing so produce vital pictures.

It is impossible, of course, to draw a precise line between these two



*Fig. 2. NICCOLO PISANO, The Crucifixion
Pisa, Baptistery (Pulpit)*



*Fig. 3. NICCOLO PISANO, The Crucifixion
Siena, Cathedral (Pulpit)*



Fig. 4. ASSISTANT OF DUCCIO
Female Saint
(detail of Fig. 1)



Fig. 5. ASSISTANT OF DUCCIO
The Adoration of the Magi (detail of Fig. 1)



Fig. 6. ASSISTANT OF DUCCIO
A Saint from the frame of the Rucellai Madonna, Florence, Santa Maria Novella



Fig. 7. ASSISTANT OF DUCCIO
A Saint from the frame of the Rucellai Madonna
Florence, Santa Maria Novella



Fig. 8. ASSISTANT OF DUCCIO
A Saint from the frame of the Rucellai Madonna
Florence, Santa Maria Novella

groups; but it is as a rule easy for any man of taste and feeling, who also has some exact knowledge of the works of the leaders of different schools of painting, to decide whether an artist is merely imitative or fundamentally creative.

Some of us in the past who have written on the art of the ducento have shown a tendency to exaggerate the effects of neo-Byzantine art on the artists of Tuscany;⁴ and we have underrated the influence that the Franciscan revival had on artists working in Tuscany and Umbria in the latter half of the thirteenth century.

"Art," says Auden, "is a product of history." It is also sometimes, because of the emotions that it communicates, a cause of history. Owing to the fact that art is a product of history—religious and social history no less than political history—we find extraordinary changes occurring in the art of that age of revolution, the thirteenth century.

The great religious movements of that time naturally had a progressive effect on its art. As the church was then the chief patron of artists, the emotions awakened by the preaching friars in Tuscany—a land in which they soon began to exercise a profound influence—naturally found expression in the works of the local schools of painting.

The new element in Franciscan theology was, of course, its essential humanism. The Franciscans set before their hearers the sufferings of the man Christ Jesus, the deep humility of the lowly maid who became the Mother of the Redeemer and Her maternal solicitude. The fervor roused by the Franciscan movement soon found utterance in the *Crucifixions* of Giunta Pisano, and in such impassioned works as Cimabue's fresco of the *Crucifixion* in the left transept of the Upper Church at Assisi. It even affected the neo-classical art of Niccolo Pisano. This supreme artist was not only influenced by the rediscovered works of the sculptors of classical antiquity: he was also influenced, in some measure, by the Gothic art of France, as well as by his emotional environment in the country of his adoption. The progressive effects of these influences are obvious in his representations of the *Crucifixion* (Figs. 2 and 3), the *Massacre of the Innocents* and the *Presentation in the Temple* in the pulpits that he made in Pisa and Siena. If we compare the scenes on the pulpit of the Cathedral of Siena with those on the earlier Pisan pulpit, we not only find evidence of a rising tide of emotional expression in the figures in such reliefs as the *Crucifixion* and the *Massacre of the Innocents*, we also see that in the background of the *Pres-*

entation in the Temple at Siena, Gothic buildings take the place of Romanesque. But in no school had the Franciscan Renaissance more deep-seated consequences than in the school of Siena. The effects of this humanist movement can be seen in every figure in the composite work now in New York. But it is more clearly noticeable in such scenes as the *Crucifixion* and the *Nativity*.

If we look at the *Crucifixion*, we see an unusual morphological detail. The right leg of the Crucified crosses the left leg at the knee. This posture is very rarely found in any representation of the subject that is of an earlier date than 1260. It is significant that this detail is to be found in a Gothic miniature in the Tesoro at Assisi.⁵ This particular miniature is certainly of a later date than 1260. But it serves to indicate by what channels Northern miniatures and ivories reached the religious houses of Central Italy.

It has been suggested that works of art from Northern Europe were purchased by Sienese bankers and merchants at the Fairs of Champagne and that in this way Northern works of art reached Siena; but no evidence has been adduced to support this conjecture.

When the present writer was collecting material for his *History of Siena*, he devoted much attention to all available sources of information regarding the history of Sienese trade and finance, and more especially to the part played by the representatives of the great banking houses of the Republic—*milites et mercatores*—at the Fairs of Champagne. He was much helped in his researches by such learned archivists and historians as Lisini (then the Director of the Archivio of Siena) and Professor Zdekauer, Narciso Mengozzi and Professor Cesare Paoli. He found no evidence that proved that there was any traffic in works of art at these Fairs. The Sienese were chiefly known there as bankers, money-changers and usurers. We know also that they dealt in cloth, as well as in wax and saffron, pepper and ginger. It must be confessed, however, that a considerable part of the gains of these Sienese bankers was derived from the sale of debased money.

There was a great shortage of metal money, and more especially of small change, at the Fairs. The most sought-after coins were those made at Provins. The Sienese bankers arranged for the manufacture of large quantities of specious imitations of these *provesini*. This false money they took with them on their journeys to Champagne. There they exchanged bad money for good. For a considerable time the Sienese carried on this lucrative business undetected. When the merchants of France and England discovered

the fraud the "Caorsini," as they were called, were hated by all who were engaged in trade in those countries.⁶

All the evidence that we possess tends to show that those Northern works of art that were introduced into Tuscany were brought there not by "Caorsini"⁷ but by itinerant ecclesiastics, most of them members of the great preaching Orders. The Church was by far the most influential patron of the arts, and some of her priests were passing continually from one country to another. In addition to the friars and members of other religious Orders, representatives of the hierarchy from the countries of Northern Europe were frequent visitors to Rome, traveling there by the Via Francigena and bringing with them costly gifts. This pipe-line from the North passed through Siena. If we accept the testimony of Matthew of Paris and other contemporary chroniclers regarding the immoral lives of the Sienese bankers,⁸ it seems somewhat fantastic to suggest that the Fairs of Champagne were the principal channels through which religious pictures and works of art passed from the countries of Northern Europe to the churches and religious houses of Central Italy.

The earliest dated representation of the *Crucifixion* in which the right leg of the Crucified crosses the left leg at the knee, is that on Niccolo Pisano's pulpit in the Baptistery at Pisa, a work that dates from 1260 (Fig. 2). We find it, too, in the *Crucifixion* by a follower of Giunta Pisano in the Church of S. Paolo Ripa d'Arno.⁹ But this one is, I believe, of a somewhat later date than 1260.

In 1266, Niccolo Pisano was commissioned to make a pulpit for the Cathedral at Siena. On this second pulpit there is a more emotional presentation of the *Crucifixion* (Fig. 3).¹⁰ In the figure of Christ there is evidence of acute suffering. The tragedy of the event is more strongly emphasized—in the drooping head of Jesus, in his strained muscles, in the position of the legs.

We see a similar posture of the Crucified in several pictures of the *Crucifixion* by Sienese painters, works that were executed at a later date than Niccolo Pisano's pulpit, as well as in representations of this subject by artists who were much influenced by the school of Siena in the later decades of the ducento. We find this detail in such works of the Sienese school as a *Crucifixion* in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge¹¹ and another somewhat similar in the Museum at Budapest.¹² These *Crucifixions*, both of the school of Siena, have backgrounds that are similar to that of the *Annunciation* which is in the altarpiece *St. Peter Enthroned* in the Pinacoteca at Siena.

The same posture of the legs of the Crucified is to be seen, too, in a *Crucifixion* at San Gimignano,¹³ in a *Crucifixion* which reveals Siennese influence in the Pinacoteca at Gubbio, in another *Crucifixion* of the school of Siena which is at Cologne, and in a copy of an early Siennese *Crucifixion*, painted perhaps at Avignon, which is in the collection of Monsieur Émile Renders at Bruges.¹⁴ In the *Crucifixion* which forms the center panel of the triptych by Duccio that is in the Royal Collection at Buckingham Palace, the right leg crosses the left below the knee.

The most remarkable iconographical detail in the New York panel—a detail of peculiar significance—is the figure of the kneeling Virgin in the *Nativity*. Representations of a kneeling Madonna in pictures of the *Annunciation* and the *Nativity* were of rare occurrence before the trecento.¹⁵ But it is not surprising that such a motif should make its early appearance in a work of the school of Siena. For it was a great master of this school, Simone Martini, who, in the next generation, created the prototype of such early representations of the *Madonna of Humility* as those of Berlin and Palermo.¹⁶ Already in the thirteenth century the Siennese, under Franciscan influences, had realized to the full the meaning of the Magnificat: it was to a humble woman that the angel Gabriel came.¹⁷ And it was to a Franciscan, Jean Firman, who prayed to the Virgin that he might behold Her, not as the glorious Queen of Heaven, majestic and splendid, but in the lowly condition in which she lived on earth, that his petition was granted.¹⁸

In the *Adoration of the Magi* (Fig. 5) there is a detail which helps us to fix the date of this panel and to identify its author. We see in this picture a wooden throne of the same type as the throne of the Blessed Virgin in the Rucellai *Madonna*. In the early works of Duccio, such as the *Madonna and three adoring Franciscan friars* which is in the public gallery at Siena (No. 20), the thrones are of wood. In the later works of Duccio and his school, pictures that were painted in the fourteenth century, the thrones are of stone.¹⁹

In the *Annunciation* in the New York panel there is also a wooden seat, somewhat simpler in form but of precisely the same type as that in the Rucellai *Madonna* which was commissioned, as we know, in the year 1285.

There are certain details in some of the costumes and the head-dresses in the panel in New York (Fig. 4) that forcibly recall the figures in the medallions on the frame of the Rucellai *Madonna* (Fig. 6). Some of the figures in the New York panel are richly adorned with jeweled diadems and

stoles of the same lavishly begemmed character as those that are worn by some of the saints in the paintings on this frame (Figs. 7 and 8). Note more especially the three Kings in the *Adoration of the Magi* (Fig. 5) and the standing female saint on the left of the *Baptism of Christ*.

The hands, too, in the New York picture are of the same type as the hands of the saints on the frame. That is to say they are rather broad, plump hands with short fingers. The left hand of St. Francis in the *Stigmatization*, for example, resembles very closely the hands of these Saints at Santa Maria Novella.

This panel is peculiarly interesting because it helps us to understand how it was that in the trecento the school of Venice began at last to be influenced by the revival of art in Tuscany. Throughout the early decades of the fourteenth century that school continued to be dominated by Byzantine influence. Neighboring Padua, where Giotto was at work in the years 1305 and 1306, might have been a thousand miles away: his influence did not penetrate the iron curtain that surrounded the devotees of the revived art of Byzantium. But, as the century wore on, Sienese art succeeded in making an entrance, and traces of Sienese influence were soon visible in Venice itself. At Trieste, in the choir of the Cathedral, we find a series of early frescoes by a follower of Simone Martini illustrating the life of St. Justin.

It was, however, I believe, through the activities of members of the preaching Orders that some works of the school of Siena first found their way into Venetia; and these imported works began to exercise an influence—slight at first but clearly perceptible—on local artists.

Evidences of Sienese influences are to be seen in some of the scenes in a Venetian work, somewhat similar in form to the Sienese panel now in New York, which was described by Miss Evelyn Sandberg Vavalà, in an article entitled "A Venetian Primitive," in *The Burlington Magazine* of July, 1932 (Fig. 10).²⁰

Miss Vavalà seems to be somewhat undecided as to the date of this Venetian primitive. In one part of her article she "refers it provisionally . . . to the first twenty years" of the fourteenth century. In another paragraph of the same article, she speaks of it as a "post-Giottesque" work. That is to say she dates it after 1336. It is difficult to fix the date of this panel; but it seems to me that it cannot be of an earlier date than 1330.

Like the Sienese panel in New York this Venetian painting probably decorated the back of a small altarpiece that had been commissioned for a

Franciscan convent. In this work, three at least of the scenes reveal Sienese influence; and it seems probable that the Venetian artist who painted it had seen the panel that is now in New York or some similar work. In the *Crucifixion*, which is the central scene of the Venetian panel, the figure on the cross has the right leg over the left leg below the knee, just as we see it in some Sienese *Crucifixions* of an earlier date.

The *Stigmatization of St. Francis* also closely resembles, in its general design as well as in some details, the representation of the same subject in the Sienese panel now in America.

But it is in the *Nativity* in the Venetian panel that we find the strongest evidence of Tuscan influence (Fig. 9). In this scene, the Blessed Virgin is represented kneeling. In some other particulars this Venetian *Nativity* recalls the representation of the same subject in the Sienese work which I believe to be by an assistant of Duccio.

Notwithstanding these evidences of Sienese influence that are obvious in a few of the scenes in this Venetian panel, it is clear that the artist who painted it was still dominated by the art of Byzantium. This is especially remarkable in his rendering of the human form. His figures, even in the three scenes that I have mentioned, have but little of the plasticity, but little of the vital quality that we begin to find in the works of Duccio and his school. It is because the panel now in New York already revealed these qualities in the penultimate decade of the ducento that it occupies a position of some importance among the pictures that illustrate the development of Italian painting.



*Fig. 9. VENETIAN SCHOOL
The Nativity (detail of Fig. 10)*



*Fig. 10. VENETIAN SCHOOL, Scenes from the Life of Christ and St. Francis
Florence, Private Coll.*

- ¹ See Giulia Sinibaldi e Giulia Brunetti, *Pittura Italiana del Duecento e Trecento, Catalogo della Mostra Giottesca di Firenze del 1937*, Florence, 1943, pp. 107, 109.
- ² A. Lisini, "Notizie di Duccio Pittore," *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria*, V, (1898), fasc. I, 43, etc.
- ³ J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in Italy*, edited by Langton Douglas, III (1908), 5, note 1; R. van Marle, *The Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1924, II, 99, 100.
- ⁴ Langton Douglas, *A History of Siena*, London, 1902, pp. 328-333.
- ⁵ E. S. Vavalà, *La Croce dipinta Italiana*, Verona, 1929, pp. 47, 168, Fig. 26.
- ⁶ Langton Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-41; F. Patetta, "Caorsini Senesi in Inghilterra nel se XIII con documenti inediti," *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria*, 1897, fasc. II, III, pp. 311-344.
- ⁷ The term "Caorsini," originally derived from the town of Cahors in Guyenne was, as Boccaccio explains, a synonym for usurer. Matthew of Paris tells us the "Caorsini" were for the most part Siennese. Langton Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
- ⁸ Matthew of Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, edited by H. R. Luard, London, 1872-1888, III, 331.
- ⁹ Giulia Sinibaldi e Giulia Brunetti, *op. cit.*, p. 37, pl. 17a. Pelèo Bacci, "Un Crocefisso ignoto di Giunta Pisano e i suoi rapporti con la pittura Umbra del XIII secolo," *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1924, p. 241.
- ¹⁰ A. Brack, *Nicola e Giovanni Pisano und der Plastik des XIV Jahrhunderts in Siena*, Strassburg, 1904, pp. 19, 20, pls. II and IV.
- ¹¹ R. van Marle, *The Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1923, I, 382, Fig. 211.
- ¹² G. von Tèrcy, *Die Gemälde Galerie des Museums für Bildende Künste in Budapest*, Berlin, 1916, p. 7.
- ¹³ Giulia Sinibaldi e Giulia Brunetti, *op. cit.*, p. 101, pl. 31a.
- ¹⁴ The small *Crucifixion* formerly in the collection of the Vicomte B. d'Hendecourt in London is certainly not by Cimabue, to whom Sirèn attributed it. It is by some follower of Giunta Pisano. O. Sirèn, *Toskanische Maler im XIII Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1922, pl. 130.
- ¹⁵ Millard Meiss, "The Madonna of Humility," *The Art Bulletin*, XVIII (1936), 456, 459.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 436, 437.
- ¹⁷ Luke 1:48-52.
- ¹⁸ Millard Meiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 459, 460, note 85.
- ¹⁹ J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, III, 20, 21, note 1.
- ²⁰ When Miss Vavalà wrote her article, this panel was in a private collection in Florence. I only know this work through photographic reproductions of it.

URSULINE EMBROIDERIES OF FRENCH CANADA

By ADELE COULIN WEIBEL

THE founders of the Ursuline convent at Quebec were *Mère Marie de l'Incarnation* (1599-1672), the first Mother Superior; *Mère Marie de la Troche*, better known as *Mère Saint-Joseph*; *Soeur Anne de Bugle de Sainte-Claire* and *Madame de la Peltrie* (1603-1671). On May 4th, 1639, these four ladies embarked at Dieppe for the long and tedious voyage to Canada. With them went three young hospital nuns, sent out to Quebec to found a *Hôtel-Dieu*, a hospice, endowed by the duchess of Aiguillon, a niece of Cardinal Richelieu. They arrived at Tadoussac on the 15th of July, and thence ascended the St. Lawrence river in a small boat loaded with salted codfish on which, uncooked, they subsisted until the first of August, when they reached their destination. The Ursulines were lodged at first in a small wooden tenement under the rock of Quebec, at the brink of the river. It was three years later, in 1642, before they took possession of a massive convent built of stone. Here, beside the cloister, stood a huge ash-tree; beneath its shade, says the convent tradition, Marie de l'Incarnation and Soeur Saint-Joseph instructed the Indian children in the Truths of Salvation, in reading and writing and, best of all, in needlework.

Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, daughter of a silk merchant of Tours, was a painter and thus probably the originator of the designs for embroidery. Maternally she was related to the noble family of Babou de la Bourdelaisiere; her ancestor was Philibert Babou, sieur de Bourdelaisiere, treasurer of France during the reign of Francis I and director of the Fontainebleau ateliers of tapestry weaving.¹ A friend of her family, Mathurin Marchant, a rich silk merchant of Tours, used to send embroidery materials to the Ursulines in Canada.

Mère Saint-Joseph, "artist to her finger-tips," excellent player of the viole, was the first musician in French Canada. *Madame de la Peltrie*, not trained like the nuns yet full of charity and self-negation, took care of the physical well-being of the Indian children.

These first Ursuline nuns came to Canada from the convent of Tours, a city long famed for wonderful tapestries; a special type of heavy silk rep, "gros de Tours," was woven there and the art of needlework was highly cultivated. The king and the court, the cardinals of Amboise and of Lorraine

were among the patrons who commissioned fine embroideries from the Ursuline nuns of Tours.

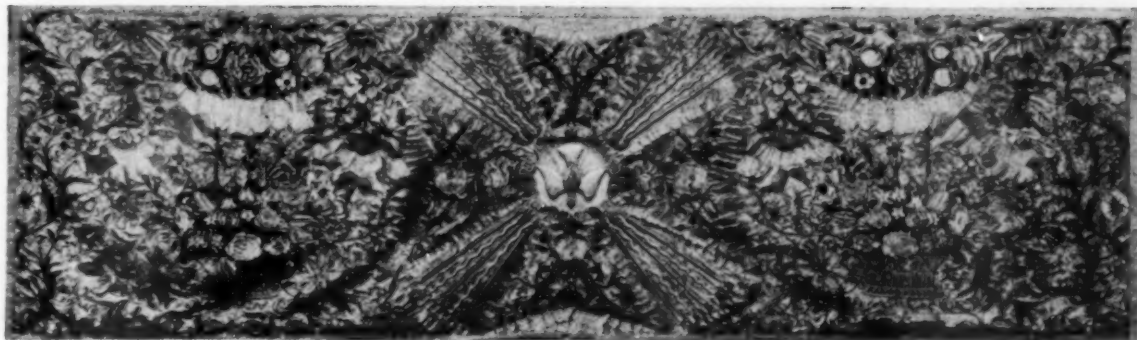
This religious order had been founded in 1535, exactly a hundred years before the Canadian adventure. The foundress, Angela Merici of Brescia, stipulated that the Ursulines must concentrate on the education of girls, as well as more generally take care of the sick and needy. The new Order enjoyed the special approval of St. Charles Borromeo, cardinal-archbishop of Milan. This intrepid and zealous reformer devoted great attention to the correct use of the Church vestments. Thus it is highly probable that he encouraged the Ursuline nuns in their endeavor of teaching fine embroidery to their pupils. In France, the Ursuline convents of Tours and Amiens were specially famous for their fine needlework.²

Two years after the foundation of the Ursuline school in Quebec the nuns had twenty Indian children among their pupils; the next year fifty, and a few years later eighty young Huron, Algonquin, Iroquois and Esquimo girls were taught the arts of French civilization. For more than a hundred years the Ursulines were responsible for the education of girls of French and Indian parentage alike.

The first vestments and altar-ornaments had been brought from France by the first Ursuline nuns. Among these was a complete "chapelle" of white damask with embroidered orphreys—altarfrontal, chasuble and cope and two dalmatics—a gift to the new colony by the Marquise Denonville. Yet, amid the hardships of getting settled, the nuns found time to provide the newly built churches of Quebec, Montreal and the surrounding parishes with embroidered vestments. Henceforth it is exceedingly rare to find mentioned in the archives gifts from the mother country.

The best embroiderers were the nuns of the brilliant period between 1670 and 1740. Unfortunately the burning of the convent in 1685 destroyed practically all the embroideries of the first generation of Ursulines. But the earliest preserved specimens are so beautiful in design, color-scheme and technique, that they mirror the high perfection of the lost works.

To the second generation of needleworkers, the first actually trained by the Ursulines who had migrated from Tours to Quebec, belongs, first and foremost, *Jeanne Le Ber* (1662-1724). The daughter of the wealthiest merchant of Montreal, she spent the formative years of her girlhood, from her thirteenth to sixteenth years, as a pupil of the Ursulines at Quebec and soon became as proficient in needlework as her teachers. Her altarfrontals and



*Fig. 1. JEANNE LE BER, LATE 17TH CENTURY
Altarfrontal of the Holy Spirit (H. 31"; L. 108")
Montreal, Musée de Notre-Dame*

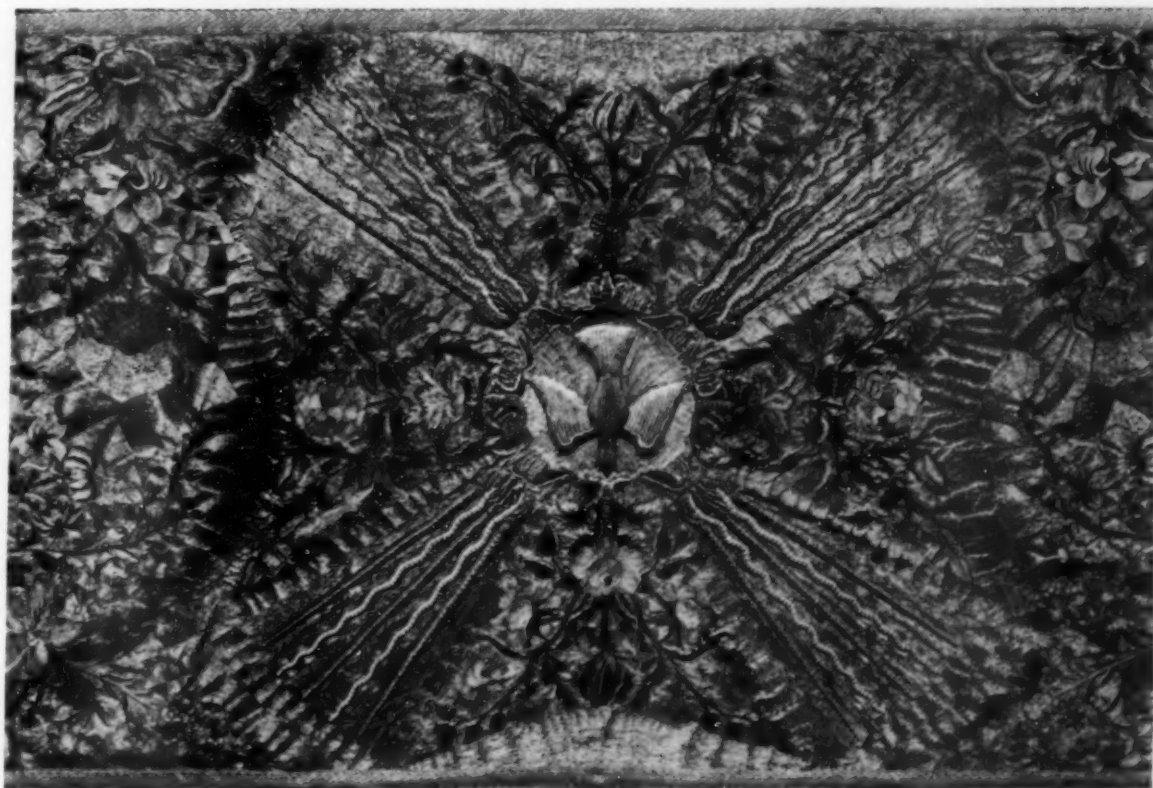


Fig. 2. Detail of Figure 1

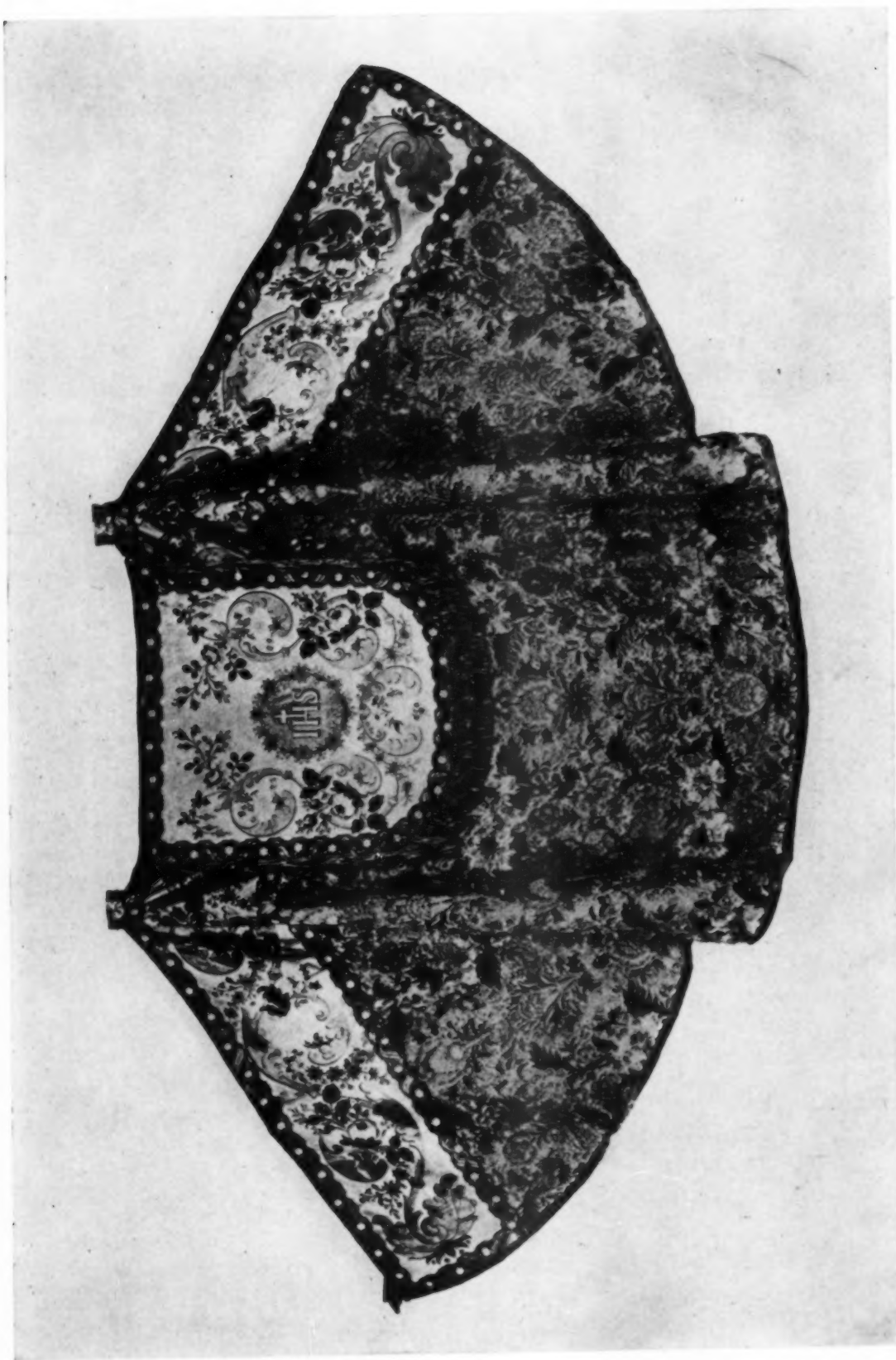


Fig. 3. JEANNE LE BER, LATE 17TH CENTURY, Cope (H. 44"; W. 112")
Montreal, Congrégation de Notre-Dame

vestments, made for the churches of Montreal and the surrounding communities, are admirable. They present the great tradition of baroque embroidery brought from France, but also these masterpieces of design and technical perfection show the initiative of a true artist. Jeanne Le Ber made them after her return to Montreal in 1677, where she communicated her new knowledge to the Ladies of the *Congrégation de Notre-Dame*. In 1695, at the age of thirty-two, she became a recluse, living for nineteen years in a small cell built next to the chapel of the Congrégation. As such she stands at the end of a long line of saintly women who preferred the rigors of a purely eremitical life to the conveniences of group life in a convent. The idea must have traveled to Western Europe from Early Christian Syria. The earliest known European recluse was St. Wiborad, killed by the Huns in 925, whose cell stood near the monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland; the last recluse in Europe was Marguerite La Barge who died in 1692 in her cell at the monastery of Saint-Irénée at Lyons. Jeanne Le Ber is the only recluse in America.

The *Altarfrontal of the Holy Spirit* is one of the oldest of the preserved treasures of the Ursuline Ladies of Canada. (Figs. 1 and 2.) It is probably the finest and certainly the most interesting baroque embroidery made anywhere in America. The intrepidity of design of the floral arrangements and the delicacy of execution will always assign to this altarfrontal a place beside the best work by professional embroiderers of France, such as the set of vestments, donated by the king, Louis XIII, to the church of St. Rémi at Reims³ where, on the shield of the cope, the emblem of the Holy Spirit is presented in heavily padded relief embroidery, quite similar to Jeanne Le Ber's work.

Flowers of wide variety, embroidered in richly polychrome silks on a ground of silverthreads couched in wavy lines are Jeanne Le Ber's theme for her vestments. Unfortunately no complete set of such is preserved. The chasuble and dalmatics of the Musée de Notre-Dame belonged to one set, the *Cope* (Fig. 3) of the Congrégation at Montreal to another. Here the vestment which is unusually wide is completely covered with flowers so magnificently conceived, it is as though the artist had been inspired by a glimpse of paradise. The orphrey and shield are not original; for reasons unknown they were replaced some time in the nineteenth century by indifferent work of the embroiderers' school of Paris.

Among the teachers whose instruction the young Jeanne Le Ber enjoyed during her sojourn at Quebec there may have been *Mère Marie Lemaire des Anges*, who was sent to Canada from the mother-house, the Grand-Couvent

in Paris, in 1671. A year later, at the death of Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, she became the second Mother Superior. Mère Marie des Anges brought to Canada the latest fashions in embroidery. Her two altarfrontals must have been made soon after her arrival.

The *Antependium of the Nativity* (Fig. 4) may well be the first of her works in Canada. It is designed in pure baroque style; the frame of the central medallion, the cornucopiae and the magnificently scrolled framework are all worked in heavily padded gold thread, and colorful stones are sewn into the embroidery to add their sparkle to the gleaming gold. The floral details and the central picture are executed in many-colored silks, in true needle-painting.

The *Antependium of the Assumption* (Fig. 5) shows a greater individuality. The cornucopiae are almost identical with the earlier ones, but the scrolls of the framework show that the Reverend Mother was not only an embroiderer but also a designer of merit. The brilliant flowers are more realistic and better disposed, the garlands hang less heavily. The picture of the Virgin ascending to Heaven shows a certain affinity to the early sculptures of the Quebec School. Both altarfrontals are worked on heavy white moiré gros de Tours.

Mère Marie Lemaire des Anges died in 1717. Among her pupils may have been Mère Marguerite Gauthier de Varennes de la Présentation (1684-1726) and Mère Renée Dumesnil de Sainte-Gertrude (1699-1751), who continued the wonderful work well into the eighteenth century. Best known among their many fine embroideries is the set of vestments which they made for the chapel of the Jesuit Fathers in Quebec. The work is exquisite; the design shows masterly restraint. Mère Marguerite de la Présentation may be one of several needleworkers to whom is due the most spectacular embroidery preserved, the *Throne and Dais of the Bishop of Quebec*, which has the inscribed date of 1703 and is preserved at the Musée de Notre-Dame in Montreal.

Most of the Huron pupils of the Ursulines came from Lorette where, after the disastrous war with the Iroquois, an attenuated colony had found refuge. Here they built their bark dwellings around the Holy House, a chapel built after the model of the Casa Santa in the Abruzzi mountains of Italy by the Jesuit Father Joseph Marie Chaumonot. Two altarfrontals are preserved at the Huron church of Lorette. One of these (Fig. 6) is embroidered on linen with wool, the background is covered with white beads. Beads of all kinds



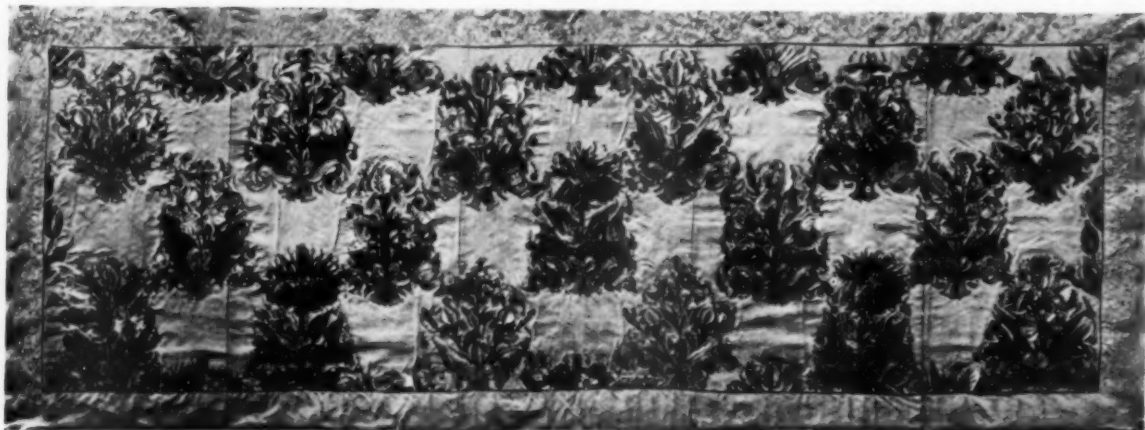
Fig. 4. MÈRE MARIE DES ANGES, LATE 17TH CENTURY
Altarfrontal of the Nativity (H. 38"; L. 90")
Quebec, Ursuline Monastery



Fig. 5. MÈRE MARIE DES ANGES, LATE 17TH CENTURY
Altarfrontal of the Assumption (H. 35"; L. 74")
Quebec, Ursuline Monastery



*Fig. 6. Altarfrontal of the Virgin (H. 42"; L. 72")
Lorette, Huron Church*



*Fig. 7. MÈRE SAINT-MARTIN
Altarfrontal of the Birds (H. 39"; L. 107")
Quebec, Hôtel-Dieu*

were imported in large quantities from Venice and used in barter with the Indians. Here the tubular beads are used to simulate the sheen of glossy silk or silver thread. Silk embroidery thread, imported from France, was obviously too expensive to be used in teaching the craft, and so the Ursulines used the hair from the neck of the moose which they dyed to brilliant colors. Mrs. John Gracey Simcoe, wife of the governor-general of Canada, seems to have been impressed by the inconvenience of this medium, for she wrote in her diary towards the end of the eighteenth century, "this moose hair is so short that it constantly slips out of the needle, which is most annoying."

The design of the Lorette altarfrontal lacks clarity, the two monograms JESUS and MARIA have a somewhat amateurish appearance. It would be exceedingly interesting if it could be proved that this altarfrontal is an early, rather ambitious work by a Huron pupil of the Ursulines at Quebec.

Even after the English conquest the Ursuline nuns continued their excellent work. After 1760 more than half of their pupils came from the newly settled English and Scottish families. One of the last great embroideries preserved is the *Altarfrontal of the Birds* (Fig. 7), the work of *Mère Marie-Angélique Viger de Saint-Martin*. She entered the convent in 1788 and died in 1832. The antependium is unfinished as she left it at her death, the border is merely stenciled in charcoal outlines. The embroidery, though it cannot be compared with that of Jeanne Le Ber for technical perfection, has a charm of its own, a delight in the earthly beauty of flowers and birds that is unique.

In summing up it can be stated that the French ladies who migrated to Canada have left their mark upon American culture.

The outstanding study of the Ursulines in Canada is the delightful book by Marius Barbeau, *Saintes Artisanes*, vol. I, *Les Brodeuses*, 1943; vol. II, *Mille Petites Adresses*, 1946, Montreal, Editions Fides. Francis Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*, chapter XIV, "Devotees and Nuns," was the first to draw attention to the activities of these French ladies.

¹ Gaston Migeon, *Les Arts du Tissue*, Paris, 1909, p. 297 f.

² Louis de Farcy, *La Broderie du Xle siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, Angers, 1890, pls. 112, 113 and 115.

³ Farcy, *op. cit.*, pls. 103, chasuble, and 106, shield of cope. Reims, St. Rémi.

NOTES ON GIOVANNI BALDUCCI AND TRECENTO SCULPTURE IN NORTHERN ITALY *By* W. R. VALENTINER

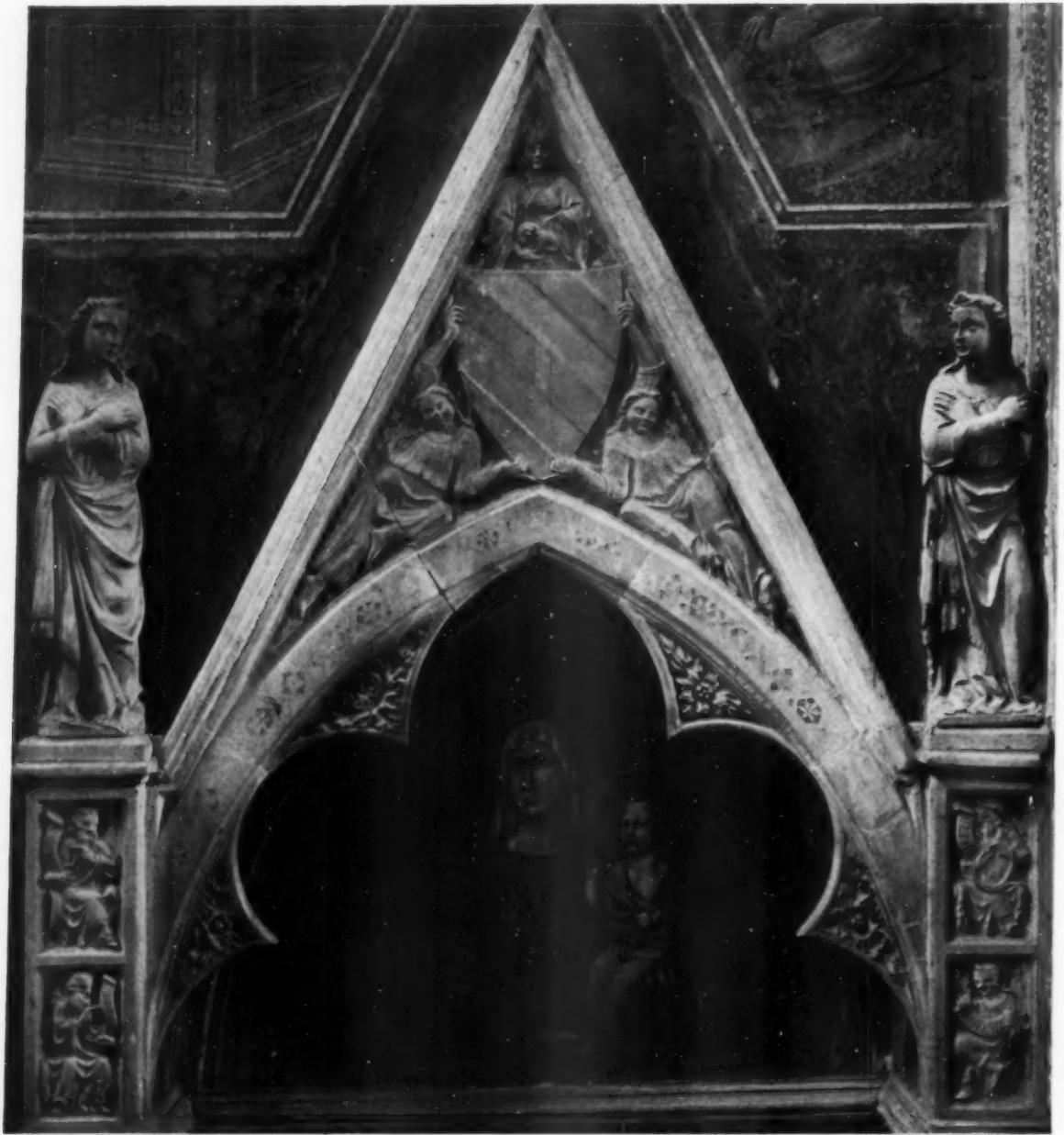
THANKS to an old tradition among the medieval sculptors of Italy of inscribing their most important works with their names, we know far more about their personalities than we do of medieval sculptors north of the Alps. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries undoubtedly produced as many great sculptors in France and in Germany as in Italy, but no artists' names have come down to us from there which can be connected with the existing sculptures. In Italy, the twelfth century sculptors of bronze doors and the great masters of marble sculpture on Romanesque cathedrals, Wiligelmus, Nicolaus and Benedetto Antelami, were among the first to sign their names to the church portals and façades they decorated, and Niccolo and Giovanni Pisano at the end of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries seldom forgot to inscribe their works with their signatures. These signatures plus existing documents make it possible to trace the development of these early masters frequently to an astonishing degree. Fortunately, most of the pupils of Giovanni Pisano, whose passionate personality made the utmost impression upon his followers, even to minor characteristics, followed their master in this practice of signing, so that we are able to reconstruct the wanderings of those pupils and distributors of Giovanni's style into the farthest parts of Italy, where we would least expect to find them.

Giovanni Balducci (*ca.* 1300-1360) was no exception to this rule. Five of his works are signed with his name. While it is true that these encompass only about fifteen years of his career, they are so varied in character and lead us into so many different localities, that by adding the information learned about his activities from other sources we can follow his career in the Tuscan and Lombard cities with certainty from about 1320 to 1360.

He was born in Pisa (as he calls himself "De Pisis,") and is first mentioned in the cathedral records of 1317-18 when he was employed at a comparatively small stipend by the leading architect and sculptor, Lupo di Francesco, who had succeeded Tino di Camaino after the latter left Pisa in 1315. If he were Tino's pupil during his work on the tomb of the Emperor Henry VII, as I have tried to show elsewhere,¹ we can date his earliest activity as a beginner to 1315. In this case he would have been born about 1295-98. The influence of Lupo di Francesco, to whom I have ascribed the



*Fig. 1. GIOVANNI BALDUCCI, Annunciation
San Casciano, Pulpit*



*Fig. 2. GIOVANNI BALDUCCI, Baroncelli Tomb (upper section)
Florence, Santa Croce*

elaborate *Gherardesca Tomb* in the Campo Santo,² can be seen in Balducci's earliest signed work, the *Tomb of Guarniero*, the son of Castruccio Castracani, at Sarzana. Here, as well as in his later Florentine work, the *Baroncelli Tomb* in Santa Croce, he employed for the decoration of the sarcophagus the figure of Christ standing in his tomb between the half-length figures of the Virgin and St. John, in separate frames; a treatment similar to that used by the creator of the *Gherardesca Tomb*.

That the young Balducci was selected to construct the tomb for the child of Castruccio Castracani, points to a close relationship with the great Ghibelline who ruled Tuscany—with the exception of Florence—from the arrival of Henry VII in 1313 until his early death in 1328. Castruccio, brilliant general as well as famed for his witty discourse, who inspired Machiavelli to an essay on his life, was a friend of Azzo Visconti, the first ruler of this name in Milan, one of the earliest art patrons in North Italy. It is possible that Castruccio recommended Giovanni Balducci to Azzo; in any event, Balducci's later life is connected with his name as the earliest portion of it with the name of the ruler of Lucca and Pisa.

The tomb at Sarzana is undoubtedly the work of a young and undeveloped artist and should therefore be dated as early as the heraldry permits, that is 1324-25.³ In his signature the artist has not yet added the word "magister" as he will to his later works. The essential source of the style of the artist is naturally Giovanni Pisano, as can be seen in the position of the angels holding the curtain and the *contraposto* of the *Madonna and Child* (Fig. 4),⁴ as well as in certain details such as the frequent use of the drill in the hair and the borders of the dress. In temperament the artist had, however, far more in common with Tino di Camaino and his generation, who transformed the wildly dramatic style of Giovanni Pisano into a more lyrical, serene conception, and replaced the impressionistic, open forms by compact, solid ones in a reaction somewhat similar to that of Maillol against Rodin in our time. Balducci especially, who was neither as sensitive nor as able a narrator as Tino, concentrated on the individual figures and avoided, *faute de mieux*, in all his works before his Milanese period, reliefs with many figures, in which Giovanni Pisano abounds.

Next in sequence come the Florentine works of the artist who appears to have stayed at Florence from about 1326 to 1330. The earliest works executed there are probably the small reliefs of apostles and virtues in Or San Michele,⁵ half-length figures in quatrefoils whose intensity of expression

attempts to rival the work of Giovanni Pisano. Certain characteristics began to appear, such as a predilection for scrolls with biblical inscriptions and for ornaments composed with small, exact drillings (differing from the rough, pictorial treatment in the use of the drill by other pupils of Giovanni Pisano). The manner of filling the pupils of the eyes with small pieces of lead which we find in southern French sculpture as early as the twelfth century is taken over from the Pisan workshops by Balducci and utilized for the rest of his career.

The *Pulpit* of San Casciano belongs to the finest works of Balducci. The front relief especially, of the two full-length figures of the *Annunciation* (Fig. 1), shows an exquisite treatment of detail combined at the same time with a broad monumental conception and a fine rhythm of line. The over-elaborate folds of the Virgin's garments are encountered again in some of the figures in relief on the *Baroncelli Tomb* in Santa Croce, Florence (Fig. 2), one of the most originally composed and most carefully executed works by the artist.

The apostles and evangelists in the small reliefs next to the Gothic arch again carry large scrolls, and their ample robes have the same tubelike folds shown by the Madonna of San Casciano. The shield bearers in the triangles are bold in design and complicated in movement. Next to them the free-standing angles with arms crossed before the breast appear here for the first time in Balducci's work, in a pattern which lost in expressiveness the more it was repeated by him. The painted Madonna in the lunette, usually given to Taddeo Gaddi, reminds one in type so strongly of Balducci that it is possibly from his hand. An inscription on the tomb bears the date 1327 in reference to the dedication of the chapel, without, however, giving the name of the artist. The small and charming group of the *Annunciation* placed upon consoles in the triumphal arch next to the tomb is also a work of Balducci. On the other hand the tombs of the Bardi on the other side of the choir have been wrongly attributed to him.

In these Florentine works which have only recently been discovered, the artist, obviously inspired by contact with Andrea Pisano and the great Florentine painters, rises to a refinement of style and precision of execution which he never attained again in his later, much more famous works in Milan.

Before the artist went to Lombardy, where he accomplished his most extensive undertakings, he was asked to erect the main altar in San Domenico at Bologna, as has been established by F. Filippini.⁶ His sojourn in Bologna



*Fig. 3. GIOVANNI BALDUCCI,
Madonna and Child
The Detroit Institute of Arts*



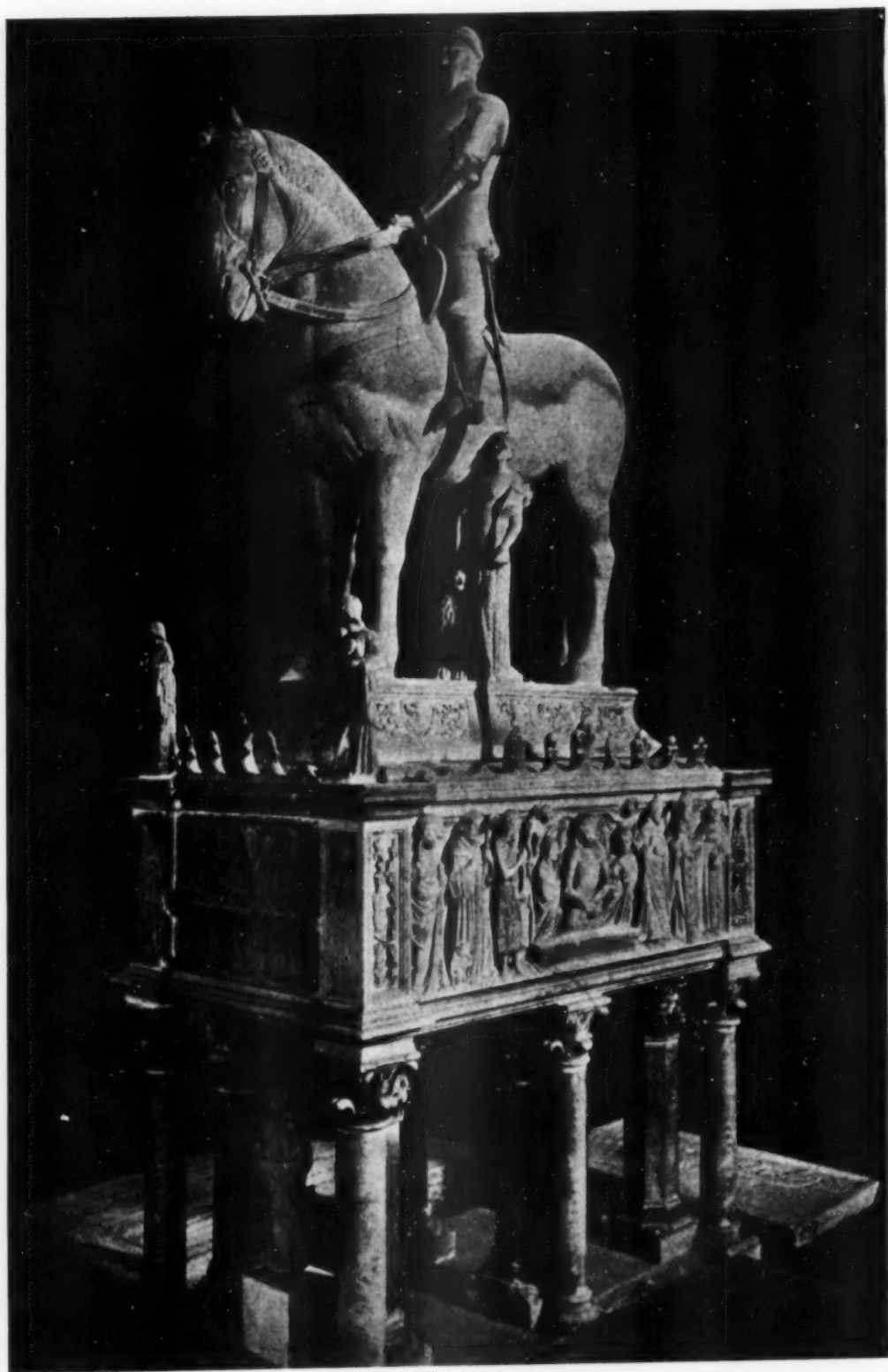
*Fig. 4. GIOVANNI BALDUCCI,
Madonna and Child
The Philadelphia Museum of Art*



*Fig. 5. GIOVANNI BALDUCCI, Madonna and Child
Los Angeles County Museum*



*Fig. 6. BONINO DA CAMPIONE, Tomb of Can Signorio (detail)
Verona*



*Fig. 7. BONINO DA CAMPIONE, Tomb of Bernardo Visconti
Milan, Museo Archeologico*

explains his detailed knowledge of the Arca of S. Domenicus in the church of this name by Fra Guglielmo, the pupil of Niccolo Pisano. The *Arca of S. Peter Martyr* which Balducci was going to execute in Milan, is in its construction, and, to some degree even in its relief character, based upon the earlier work which he must have studied at his ease when working on the altarpiece for the same church. Since the chapel in which this altar stood was erected around 1331, the sculptures for the altar were probably executed soon after. Unfortunately, they were scattered in the eighteenth century and only one statuette, in the figure of *S. Peter Martyr*, has been traced to the Museo Civico, Bologna. As Vasari (who ascribed the altar to Giovanni Pisano) tells us, there were originally eight statuettes with a Madonna in the center.

It seems to me possible that the missing *Madonna* can be recognized in the statuette which was acquired by the Detroit Institute of Arts from the Stanley Mortimer estate (Fig. 3).⁷ The soft treatment of the flowing garments and the compact forms are very similar to the statuettes on the *Arca of S. Peter Martyr* in S. Eustorgio in Milan. On the other hand, the position of the Child and its characteristic hair with curls ending in drill holes, and the position of the Madonna's right hand, are still reminiscent of Giovanni Pisano and the earlier periods of the artist. Balducci probably moved to Milan about 1335, according to a theory expressed by Filippini, after a call from the Dominican Order, the same Order which had commissioned him to build the altar in Bologna and perhaps also the pulpit of San Casciano upon which St. Dominic is prominently represented—his figure is the only one inscribed with the saint's name.

In his Milanese period the artist reached the height of his fame as is proved by important commissions he received. But perhaps because he was working in surroundings as yet unpenetrated by the new tendencies of the great Tuscan masters, or perhaps because he had to employ too many assistants, his style lost the crispness and intensity of the earlier works. He shows himself at his best in his single, chiefly female, statues of quiet attitude and serene expression. The forceful, twisted movements inherited from Giovanni Pisano have disappeared. Instead, the straight, frontal view of head and body is stressed. The arms are closely attached to the figure, the folds of the garments flow softly downwards, the outlines of the figures are so simplified that the pillar-like character of each statue is retained. While the execution of his best known work in Milan, the *Arca of S. Peter Martyr* in

S. Eustorgio, lacks preciseness and character in many parts, it must be remembered that its constructive quality and its decorative value are remarkably fine. Placed as it is now in a lightly constructed, charmingly decorated early Renaissance chapel, it creates, through this happy contrast, an impression of refinement and completeness as do few other Gothic monuments of the Trecento. Heavily built, the architectural sections like the figures, broad, short and voluminous, at the same time carefully and harmoniously balanced and still full of medieval spiritual expression, seem to repeat again and again in Shakespeare's words, "Pisa, renowned for grave citizens, gave me my being."

The Arca was, according to the inscription, finished in 1339. It followed the *Tomb of Azzo Visconti* who died in the same year. Important fragments are preserved in the Palazzo Trivulzio, Milan (the tomb figure of Azzo with two angels, the center relief of the sarcophagus and S. Michael are reproduced in A. G. Meyer's publication). Probably the enchanting statue of the *Madonna and Child* which the Los Angeles County Museum recently acquired (Fig. 5) and which reliable information establishes as having been previously in the Trivulzio Collection, comes from this tomb. It is the third Madonna statue of the artist which has come to this country. The soft forms of the figures and their tender, lyrical expressions coincide with the front statues of the Arca in S. Eustorgio. The coloring is unusually rich and well preserved: the Child's garment and the Madonna's veil are silver, the hair of the two, as well as the border of their robes, gold, the Madonna's mantle is lined with dark blue, the sleeves of the Child's garment are cherry-red, touches of which color are visible on the lips of the two figures (H. 24½").

A final date of Balducci's Milanese works (1347) could be read formerly on another elaborate construction, the church portal of S. Maria di Brera, before it was destroyed. Many fragments are preserved in the Museo Archeologico at Milan: the statues of the Madonna, Gabriel and S. John the Baptist; reliefs with the figures of S. Agostino and S. Gregorio in half-length; and a number of capitals with fine heads between large foliage, of which we give a few examples in reproduction (Figs. 20, 21). If the portal had not been signed with the name of the artist, we would hardly believe it to be his work, so poor seems the execution of the statues which are obviously pupils' work. The greatly damaged condition of the portal makes it even more difficult for us to appreciate the praise which Morrona bestowed upon it when he saw it still *in situ* in 1812.⁸



Fig. 8. Detail of Figure 9



Fig. 9. BONINO DA CAMPIONE,
Madonna and Child, Milan, S. Nicola

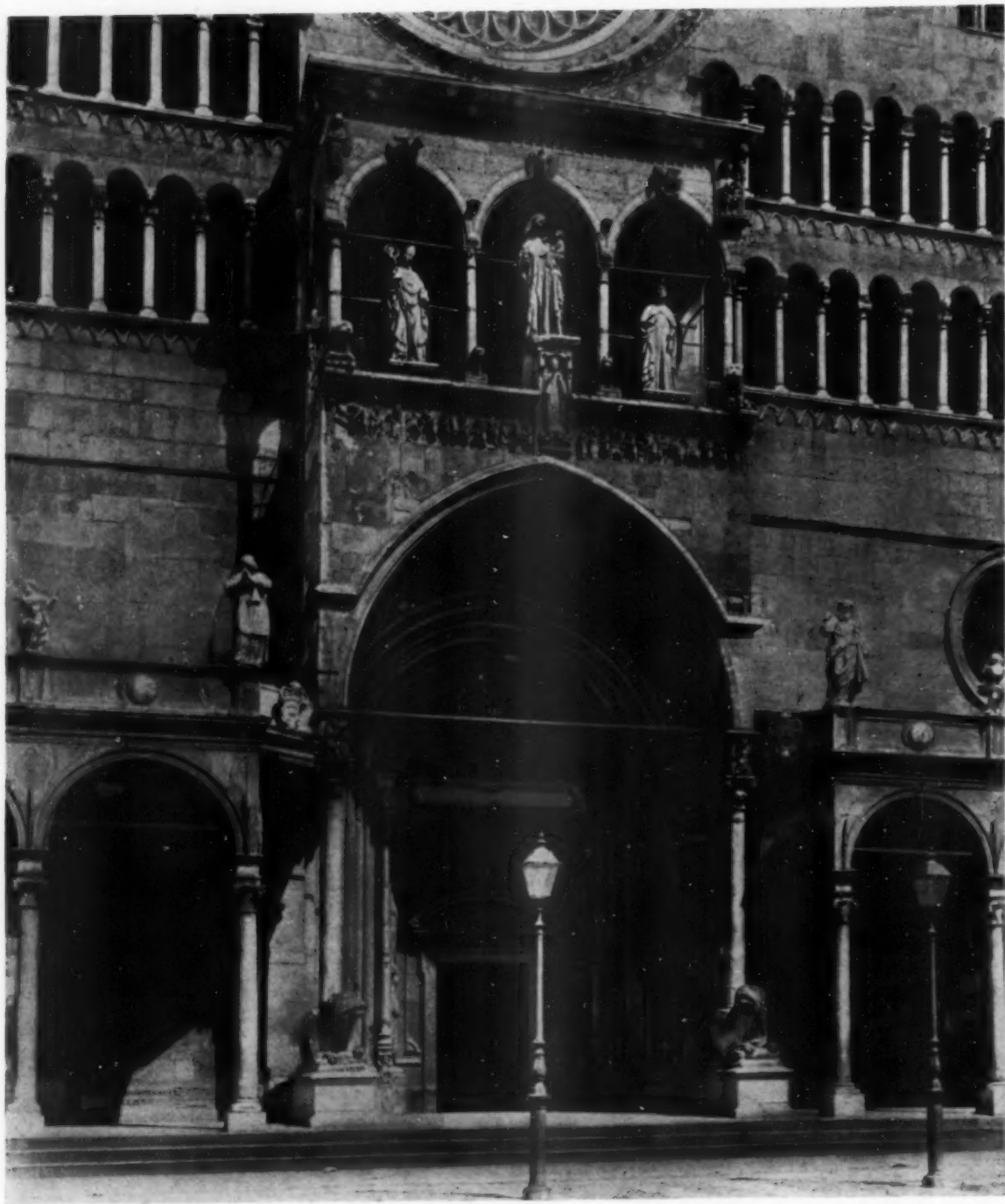


Fig. 10. Cremona, Façade of the Cathedral

Not dated or signed, but a characteristic work of Balducci's workshop, unjustly given to his school, is the *Tomb* of the scholar Lanfranco Settala in S. Marco at Milan, whose excellent frontal relief of the docent teaching his pupils is one of the earliest examples of this type of tomb relief in Lombardy.

In 1349 Balducci was invited by the cathedral commission at Pisa to return to his native city as chief architect. This is the last time the artist is mentioned in any document. It is probable that he did not accept the honorable summons, for we encounter a later work of his in Lombardy, which, if it is truly his own, was executed after 1350 and must have entailed years of extensive labor. This is the *Arca* of S. Agostino in Pavia, the most elaborate piece of sculpture among the Trecento monuments still extant in Lombardy. It is as if it were an extension of the *Arca* of S. Peter Martyr, but enriched by infinitely more figures and reliefs—95 statues and 50 reliefs in all. It has been attributed to different sculptors, and only a few consider it Balducci's work although no one denies the obvious connection with his style. These few are,⁹ however, right in my opinion, and the date, often put too late, is plausibly fixed by Maiocchi as between 1350 and 1362. In the first place the composition is based upon the *Arca* in S. Eustorgio with changes we would only expect from an artist who is not just an imitator but one who has conceived out of the same spirit a more developed construction. Many of the statues are moreover so identical stylistically with those on the monument of Peter Martyr, the relief character is so similar, and certain details such as the treatment of hair, eyes and costume borders point so conclusively to the origin in a Pisan atelier, that I have no doubt that it is the last work Balducci executed in his old age, although unable to advance here the stylistic proof in detail. That many assistants worked on it and finished it, and to some extent spoiled the general impression of this historically outstanding but artistically feeble work, cannot be denied. Although Lombardians undoubtedly figured among Balducci's assistants, the conception of the whole seems to me to hark back to one master's mind, a master who can only be from Pisa and not one of the younger Lombardian sculptors, like the Campionese, to whom it has been attributed by some scholars.

The leading sculptor among these younger artists was Bonino da Campione (mentioned from 1357-1397). During the last third of the Trecento his style

ruled in Lombardy, especially at Milan and Verona, as Balducci's had in the second third. This fact has not yet been sufficiently recognized with the result that scholars hesitate to give to him the imposing *Tomb of Bernardo Visconti* (ca. 1380-85) (Fig. 7), the cruelest tyrant of the Visconti family, in the Museo Archeologico at Milan. If we compare the reliefs of this monument with those of the *Schizzi Sarcophagus* in Cremona, the first signed work of Bonino da Campione, dated 1357, and again with those of the *Tomb* (likewise signed) of Can Signorio in Verona, completed in 1374 (Fig. 6), the stylistic relations are close enough to permit us to attribute the Milanese monument to the same master. Two of the greatest works in Lombardy from the end of the fourteenth century are thus his. Both culminate in impressive equestrian statues which establish Bonino as a predecessor of the Quattrocento masters of equestrian monuments.

Bonino was, I believe, the pupil and assistant of Giovanni Balducci, or at least very strongly influenced by him. As a characteristic work which shows this connection, I reproduce a hitherto unpublished, almost lifesize, statue of the enthroned *Madonna* at S. Nicola at Milan,¹⁰ which has been wrongly attributed to Balducci (Figs. 8 and 9). It represents the Lombardian artist at his best, with all the charming freshness and lively spontaneity of expression characteristic of this younger and progressive artist, next to whom Balducci appears refined and elegiac, but also fatigued and devoid of vitality. Certain details, such as the Virgin's veil and the long hair of the Child remind us of Balducci, but Bonino is less conventional, his features rounder and broader, the eyes wider open, the lips more sensuous, and the hands modeled with more naturalistic precision.

If we compare the relief style of the two sculptors, we find that Balducci is the better observer of an even front plane in his background and foreground figures, filling his relief to the last corner with people arranged epically rather than dramatically, in long rows one above the other. Bonino leaves the back plane of his relief visible between scattered groups which are placed about in a rather haphazard manner but which show a lively action in their free and naïve movements. The fact that the clear relief plane begins to disappear in his work shows that Bonino stands on the threshold of the Quattrocento, while Balducci is still bound to the medieval tradition of compact, architectural relief style.

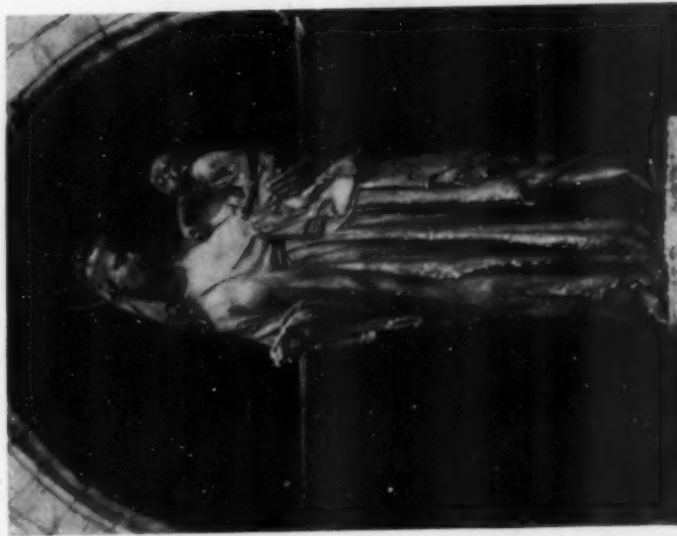


Fig. 11. HERE ATTRIBUTED TO GANO,
Madonna and Child
Cremona, Cathedral



Fig. 12. GANO, Tomb of
Tommaso d'Andrea, Casole

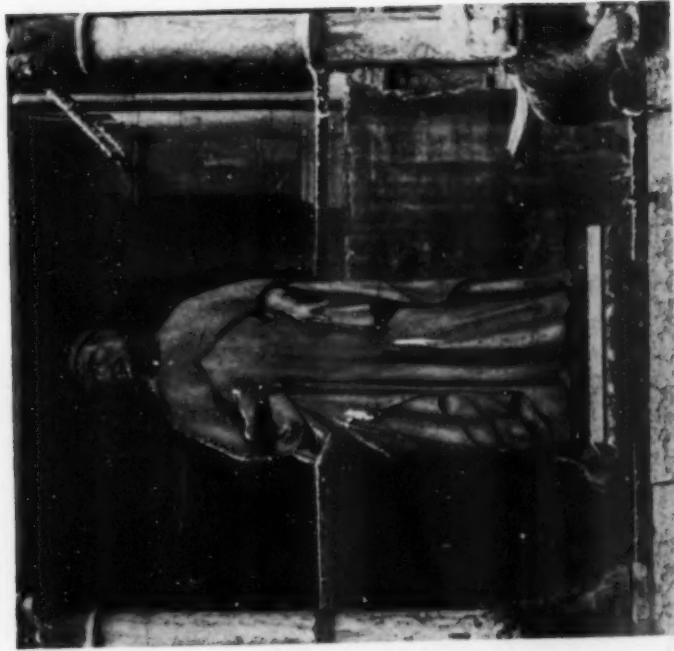


Fig. 13. HERE ATTRIBUTED TO GANO,
S. Omobono
Cremona, Cathedral



Fig. 14. Detail of Figure 12



Fig. 15. Detail of Figure 13



*Fig. 16. GANO, S. Imerio (detail)
Cremona, Cathedral*



Fig. 17. Detail of Figure 11

In one important attribution I believe Adolfo Venturi, the first great scholar in Trecento sculpture, made a serious mistake which weakens his otherwise convincing character portrait of Balducci. He over-rated the Pisan master's ability when he attributed to him the three monumental statues above the portal of the Romanesque cathedral of Cremona, the greatness of which he justly recognized (Figs. 10, 11, 13). They are to my mind by none other than the Sieneese master Gano, whose only certain work consists of the two remarkable tomb statues at Casole, *Ranieri del Porrina* (d.1303) and *Tommaso d'Andrea* (d.1315) (Fig. 12). These tombs have been correctly dated considerably later than one would expect from the death dates of the men they represent, that is, about 1330.¹¹ The three statues at Cremona are dated by Venturi at around 1341, a period when the Cremonese started with new enthusiasm to complete their cathedral. My attribution is based upon purely stylistic elements, which, however, seem to me so striking that it is surprising they have not been noticed before. Perhaps the fact that Cremona seems rather out of the way for a Sieneese sculptor explains why no one has thought of Gano in front of these Gothic cathedral sculptures. However, we know from the lives of other Sieneese sculptors of this period how widely they traveled throughout Italy. Goro di Gregorio we encounter in 1330 at Messina. Tino di Camaino's career began at Siena and ended at Naples in 1337. And did not Balducci himself take the route from Tuscany to Lombardy just about the time when, we have suggested, it is plausible to imagine Gano wandering in the same direction?

Unfortunate for a comparison, the two statues at Casole are realistic portraits while the Cremona figures are religious statues of ideal types. Portrait statues usually reveal less in the way of the artist's characteristics than figures or compositions of more general themes; and the few accompanying statuettes of angels and saints on the Casole monuments are too insignificant for the expression of the personal style of a Gothic sculptor. We must proceed, therefore, with the Morellian method of detailed examination of the accessories.

If we compare the statue of Tommaso d'Andrea with S. Omobono in Cremona, we find in both instances a similar compact, cylindrical form with simple outlines, and a similar smooth treatment of the surface in terms of a mantle wrapped closely around the shoulders with its ends falling in large, rolling curves on both sides of the figure. This carefully smoothed surface treatment with garments flatly attached is characteristic of most Tus-

can sculpture of the third and following decades of the Trecento—a typical example being the marble sculptures of Andrea Pisano—and differs from the more emphatic treatment of Giovanni Pisano and his immediate followers.

The system of folds in the two statues is essentially the same. The waves of falling folds grow larger toward the bottom on the right side of the figures, while on the left there appears only one curve in the downward movement of the rather narrow mantle ends. In the central area one sees very few incisions in the heavy, smooth material, and these incisions follow a straight, vertical course, only changing at one point into a triangular fold where the left knee presses slightly forward. Insofar as the prescribed garments permit this system of folds, it is followed out in the other figures too, for instance in the statuette of an angel to the right of the arch of the Casole monument.

A certain formula can be observed likewise in the position of the hands. In both statues, at Casole and Cremona (Figs. 14, 15), the left hand is posed in such a manner as to show the thumb and two forefingers, which follow the downward course of the material they are grasping (similar again to the little angel statuette in Casole), while the right hand is held halfway up in front of the figure. It is surprising how similar is the way in which the books are held, one by the right hand in the Casole statue, by the left hand in two of the figures in Cremona: S. Imerio and the Christ Child (Figs. 14, 16, 17). It is probably accidental that the metal mountings of the books are placed on the same spot, two horizontally, one vertically from above. But the rather unusual position in each case of the fingers holding the lower edge seems to reveal the same artist.

Very much the same treatment of detail can be observed in the girdles of the Virgin and Tommaso d'Andrea, and again in the folds covering the feet of S. Imerio and Ranieri Porrina. And if we proceed now to the facial features, we encounter in all the statues the same monumental forms, the same large eye sockets with protruding eyeballs, heavy brows, broadly set noses, high upper lips and large mouths. The profile view of S. Imerio (Fig. 18) discloses the simplified form of the ear which is very similar to the same feature of Ranieri Porrina's. A careful study of the details reproduced here will reveal still more arguments in favor of an identification of the statues in Casole and Cremona as by the same master.

By adding then three masterful statues to the work of Gano, we become better able to judge the character of his art. It will perhaps be possible to en-



Fig. 18. Detail of Figure 16



Fig. 19. Detail of Figure 11



*Fig. 20. GIOVANNI BALDUCCI, Capital from Portal of S. Maria di Brera
Milan, Museo Archeologico*



*Fig. 21. GIOVANNI BALDUCCI, Capital from Portal of S. Maria di Brera
Milan, Museo Archeologico*

large his *oeuvre* in the future. The Madonna of Cremona points the direction in which we should look, among works especially which show a strong influence of French cathedral sculpture.

¹ *Art Bulletin*, IX, No. 3 (1927), 197. Reproductions of the *Gherardesca Tomb* and of *Balducci's Tomb* at Sarzana can be found in this article.

² This identification has been questioned by E. Carli, and I agree that it is based on circumstantial evidence. It is a fact that Lupo di Francesco was the leading sculptor and architect at Pisa after the death of Giovanni Pisano and after the departure of Tino, that is, from 1315 to 1336 (see *Art Bulletin*, *op. cit.*, p. 208), and that, further, there are more important works known by the master of the Gherardesca tomb during this time than by any of the other sculptors of Pisa. Other works by him include the statues of the tabernacle above the entrance of the Campo Santo, the *Annunciation* relief and the *pulpit* of San Michele in Borgo (parts in San Michele and in the cathedral), and four statues, two prophets and two angles on the façade of the cathedral. The latter and the pulpit have been rightly recognized by Carli as works by the Gherardesca master, whom, however, he divides into two personalities. The reactionary and somewhat crude artist is obviously an architect by inclination as seen from his striving for static, monumental forms, especially in the grand enthroned *Madonna* of the tabernacle which seems to be based upon knowledge of French cathedral sculptures. The pulpit of San Michele must be dated after 1310 as some of the reliefs are copied in part from Giovanni Pisano's pulpit in the cathedral, and the *Gherardesca Tomb* can be dated as between 1315 and 1320.

³ Both Milanese and A. G. Meyer (whose *Lombardische Denkmäler*, 1893, is still the best publication on Balducci and his followers in Lombardy) suggest 1321 as the year of the death of the boy. In my first study on Balducci (*Art Bulletin*, IX, no. 3 [1927], 214-220) I dated it 1327-28. But Castruccio was appointed imperial stadholder of Lucca as early as June, 1324 by King Ludwig of Bavaria, whose coat-of-arms the tomb bears. (See Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz*, p. 687.)

⁴ My observation that the *Madonna* statue in Philadelphia comes from the *Guarniero Tomb* has not been accepted by some of my Italian colleagues, but very likely few have taken the trouble to visit Sarzana in order to see that a plaster cast replaces the original.

⁵ Reproduced in *L'Arte*, Anno 38 (Jan. 1935), p. 5.

⁶ F. Filippini, *Bologna*, No. 4, 1935.

⁷ Published by me years ago as by a follower of Giovanni Pisano, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1912 (H.32nd). The nose of the *Madonna* is a modern restoration.

⁸ Morrona, *Pisa illustrata nella arti di disegno*, 1812.

⁹ P. R. Maiocchi, *L'Arca di S. Agostino*, Pavia, 1900, and recently F. Filippini.

¹⁰ I have to thank Mr. Giorgio Nicodemi for kindly procuring a photograph for me.

¹¹ H. Keller, *Die Bauplastik des Sienerer Domes*, 1937, p. 191. Unfortunately, this article suffers from a complete misconception of Siene sculpture of the second and third decades of the fourteenth century, which the author considers below the level of contemporary Siene painting. (Compare, on the other hand, E. Carli in his excellent book on Goro di Gregorio, Firenze, 1946, p. 9.) Keller sees only impoverishment (*Verarmung*) in the simplified and compact style of the generations following Giovanni Pisano and does not recognize that a factual and spiritual movement can take place just as well within the closed, cubic forms of artists like Agostino di Giovanni, Tino, Goro and Gano, as in the explosive, broken-up forms of Giovanni Pisano. If the critic had had a better eye for the individual sculptors' personalities, he would have seen that not only is the *Tomb of Catherine of Austria* at Naples a work of Tino, but also the original drawing for the façade of the Baptistry at Siena, which he published but dated much too late (about 1350; dated by Carl Frey correctly about 1317). No one else but Tino could have conceived as great a statue as the one of the tabernacle in the upper part of the façade which breathes, not the spirit of Giovanni Pisano, as Keller says but the mysticism of Tino di Camaino. The other statues of the drawing, which was not known to me when I published my book on Tino, point clearly to the period of the *Petrone Tomb* when he was master architect of the cathedral of Siena (1320). The counterpoint to the figure of the tabernacle is the supporting statue of the *Orsi Tomb* from the Romano Collection, Florence. (Plate 31 in my book.)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Sir:

I have just read the article by Sherman E. Lee in The Art Quarterly, Summer, 1946, page 257 ff., on a majolica plate in Detroit representing the so-called "Sogno" of Michelangelo.

Mr. Lee is right in thinking that this is an interesting document, but it is probably even more interesting than he assumes. For one thing, the translation which he gives on page 258 does not seem to agree with the Italian inscription represented in Figure 3. As I read the inscription, it seems to me it should be translated like this: "Daniel dreaming of seeing all the deadly sins (tuti lipechati mortali) and he was in great distress (there) came the angel from heaven and he awakened."

About the first part of this inscription there can be no doubt. I feel almost certain that other readers of The Art Quarterly will send you the same correction. I do not feel quite sure about the last two words in the inscription but they should offer no great difficulty.

At any rate, the inscription has very considerable documentary value for two reasons. First, the name of Daniel may be wrong although I am by no means sure that it is. But the inscription explains the representation as a dream and consequently confirms the traditional explanation of Michelangelo's drawing as "Il Sogno." Second, the inscription clearly refers to the seven deadly sins and for this reason corresponds with the drawing even better than with the plate on which it is found. In short, the explanation indicated in the inscription is probably far more consistent with the original idea underlying the drawing than was assumed by Mr. Lee. I have no doubt that the whole problem would bear further scrutiny.

Yours very sincerely,
OTTO J. BRENDL

Sir:

The desperate and continued need for American publications to serve as tools of physical and intellectual reconstruction abroad has been made vividly apparent by appeals from scholars in many lands. The American Book Center for War Devastated Libraries has been urged to continue meeting this need at least through 1947. The Book Center is therefore making a renewed appeal for American books and periodicals—for technical and scholarly books and periodicals in all fields and particularly for publications of the past ten years. We shall especially welcome complete or incomplete files of The Art Quarterly.

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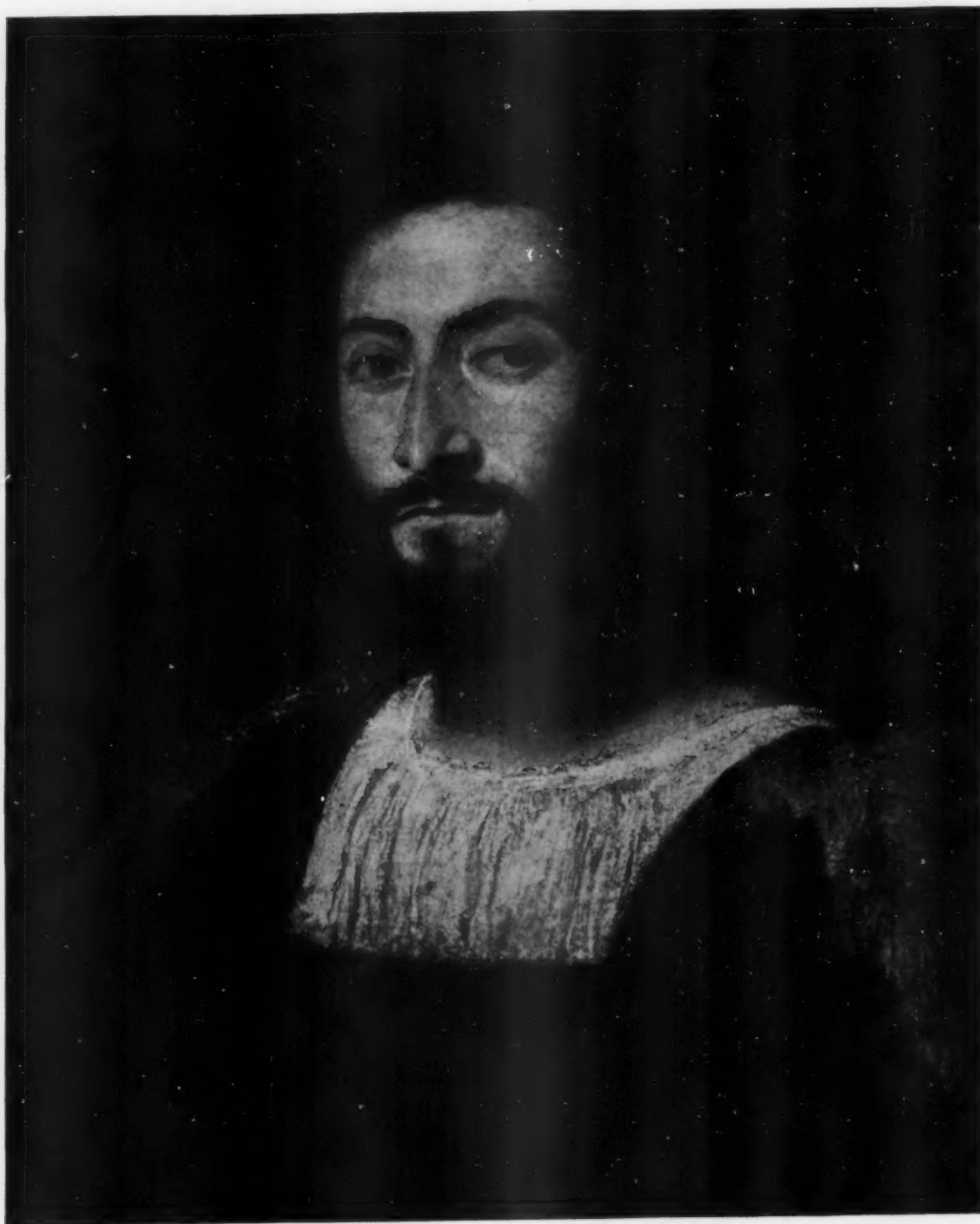
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The first part of the history of the United States is the period from the discovery of the continent by Christopher Columbus in 1492 to the establishment of the first permanent settlements. This period is characterized by the exploration of the continent by Spanish, French, and English explorers, and the establishment of the first permanent settlements by the English in 1607. The second part of the history is the period from the establishment of the first permanent settlements to the American Revolution in 1776. This period is characterized by the growth of the colonies, the struggle for independence, and the establishment of the United States as a new nation. The third part of the history is the period from the American Revolution to the present. This period is characterized by the development of the United States as a major world power, the expansion of its territory, and the growth of its population.

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TITIAN, *Portrait of a Man (Lodovico Ariosto)*
Indianapolis, The John Herron Art Institute

"PORTRAIT OF A MAN (LODOVICO ARIOSTO)" BY TITIAN

From an article by WILBUR D. PEAT in the April, 1947 *Bulletin* of the
John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis

The acquisition of a portrait by Titian is an event of major import in the life of the Art Association, and having come as a gift in memory of Booth Tarkington it has additional significance for the Museum and for the people of the state. It would be hard to establish a more appropriate memorial to our distinguished citizen and author, considering the deep pleasure he derived from the works of the old masters in general, and this painting in particular.

So much has been written about Titian's life and work that it is not necessary to dwell at length upon the subject here. However, for a better appreciation of this particular portrait in relation to the artist's long and colorful career, something should be said about the period into which it falls.

All of the historians who have passed judgment upon it believe that it was painted between 1510 and 1520, pointing out its Giorgionesque elements and its stylistic relationship to several portraits painted by Titian in that decade. At that time he was in his thirties; he had left the workshop of Giovanni Bellini and was rapidly becoming the leading painter of Venice. His name was, and still is linked with that of his talented fellow artist Giorgione in this stage of his development, not only because a very close friendship existed between them, but because their points of view and manners of painting were so similar. How much one influenced the other is still a subject of discussion among critics.

For our purpose it is only necessary to point out that what is meant by the Giorgionesque manner in Titian's early work has to do more with expression than technical execution: subtlety of characterization, inner intensity of spirit, and a pervading lyrical mood. These qualities are evident to everyone who has seen the portrait under discussion. Technically, it shows the careful finish that characterizes Titian's early work—careful but not labored—and suggests the rich glowing colors that are to reach new heights of splendor in later years.

It is interesting to note that many of Titian's best known portraits date from the decade after 1510: *The Man with the Glove*, in the Louvre, *The Portrait of a Man*, once thought to be Ariosto, in the National Gallery in London, *Portrait of the Physician Parma* in Vienna, *Portrait of Alessandro de' Medici* at Hampton Court and *Tommese Mosti* in the Pitti Palace, Florence. Each reveals a deep penetration into human personality, a sensitive employment of materials and a new concept of light, shadow and color in relation to artistic expression.

We have before us in our newly acquired portrait a person of distinction. His proud bearing, sensitive and refined temperament and keen intellect are as strongly suggested as the finely chiseled features of his face. Since his identity was lost during the vicissitudes that befell the painting, an attempt has been made in recent years to correct this anonymity. The conclusion that it represents Lodovico Ariosto was reached recently by Dr. Hans Tietze, who recognized the similarity between it and the known portraits of Ariosto. The resemblance is very close to the one in the Casa Orsini in Ferrara, although in that painting the subject is older and the bony structure of his head is more marked. Perhaps the most authentic portrait of the poet is the woodcut, believed to be from a drawing by Titian, that appeared in the 1532 edition of his *Orlando Furioso*, but because



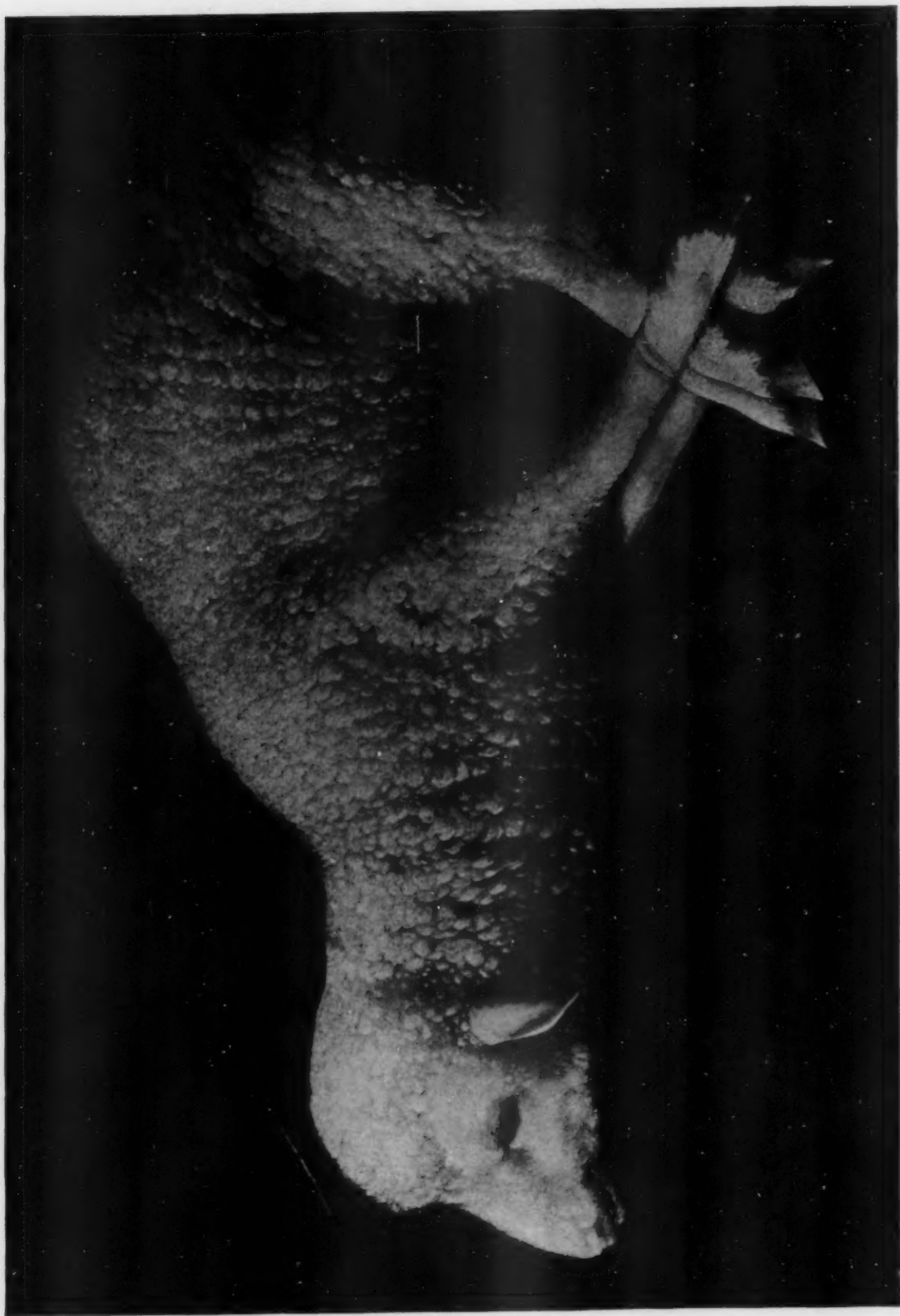
Portrait of the Artist, His Wife and Daughter, Emily
Charles Wesley Jarvis 1812 - 1868

Old and Modern PAINTINGS

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FRANCISCO DE ZURBARÁN, *Agnus Dei*
San Diego, The Fine Arts Gallery

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it is a profile study and represents Ariosto as a much older man, it contributes little to the solution of this problem.

Of more than passing interest is the fact that our painting seems to correspond to a portrait of Ariosto by Titian which Ridolfi, the Venetian artist, describes in his history. He states that it belonged to the painter Niccolo Renieri, that it represented the poet in a dignified pose, dressed in a black velvet garment lined with lynx fur, and that the pleats of his shirt, visible on his chest, were treated in a light and pleasing manner, "with charming carelessness." So closely does this description tally with the portrait we have here that one is inclined to believe that Renieri's prized possession is now ours.

A word about the relationship of Titian and Ariosto might be of interest at this point in our analysis of the portrait. History leaves no doubt about their friendship. The earliest recorded meeting of the two was in 1516 when Titian visited Alfonso I at Ferrara in connection with some paintings which the Duke wanted. Ariosto was in the service of the Duke (he was bringing out the first edition of the *Orlando Furioso* that year) and it is reasonable to assume that the painter took this opportunity to put the poet's likeness on canvas. Since this meeting in 1516 corresponds to the date which several people have assigned to our painting on stylistic grounds, we may surmise that we have here the first of several studies made by Titian of his friend.

So far as we can determine the portrait was not published in Europe, nor did it appear in public exhibitions until after it arrived in this country in the nineteen-thirties. After it entered Mr. Tarkington's collection in 1938 it was shown in the exhibition of Venetian painting at the California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco, and two years later in the Venetian exhibition at the Toledo Museum of Art. It has been admired by many people and more than once spoken of as one of the finest Titians in America.

A ZURBARÁN FOR SAN DIEGO

BY MARTIN S. SORIA

The Fine Arts Gallery at San Diego has added another Zurbarán to its collection: an *Agnus Dei*, a lamb in radiant whites and grays on a gray stone against a dark background. Under a halo, barely indicated, the head is stretched out with great meekness and the legs are tied together, ready for the slaughter. The picture, on brown bolus, measures 14 x 20½ inches and is inscribed at the bottom: "TANQUAM AGNUS." The painting may have been in the Alphonse Oudry sale, Hotel Drouot, Paris, April 19-20, 1869, no. 129, "A Lamb, study," unless the Oudry picture is the one that later entered the Stanislas O'Rossen Collection at Paris. The San Diego painting was in the Arthur Kay Collection, Edinburgh, sold at Christie's on March 22, 1929, no. 123; bought in and sold again on April 8-9, 1943.

Zurbarán often arranged what he painted on a bare stone. He might have learned this from Fray Juan Sánchez Cotán, so incisively represented in the San Diego Gallery (published in *The Art Quarterly*, VIII, no. 3 [1945], pp. 225-230), and he also follows the Carthusian in restricting his picture dramatically to the bare essentials: the Lamb of God and a Biblical text. As we read in Acts 8:32: "Tamquam (ovis ad occisionem ductus est et sicut) agnus coram tondente se sine voce non aperuit os suum—He was led as a sheep to the slaughter; and like a lamb dumb before his shearer, so he openeth not his mouth." The classical, very similar passage is, of course, Isa. 53:7, so famous that Calderón wrote an allegorical drama "El cordero de Isaías," the Lamb of Isaiah. The lamb, we all know, is Christ. "Ecce Agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi" (John

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ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN, *St. Jerome in the Desert*
The Detroit Institute of Arts

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1:29; I Pet. 1:19). An ewe lamb is represented, that is a lamb of atonement serving for a sacrifice for sin (Num. 6:14). A very similar animal, a ram with small horns, is in the lower right of Zurbarán's famous *Adoration of the Shepherds*, painted in 1638, at the Museum of Grenoble. The *Adoration* shows a ram, because rams were used in burnt offerings, that is, offerings of thanksgiving. Thus the shepherds expressed their great joy for the new-born Babe. Also because of the passage in Gen. 22:13: "And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and behold behind him a ram caught in a thicket by his horns; and Abraham went and took the ram and offered him up for a burnt offering in the stead of his son." The Sacrifice of Abraham was always considered an Old Testament parallel to the Crucifixion, which is thus foreshadowed even at Christ's birth.

In spite of the great similarity between the ram at Grenoble and the ewe at San Diego, painted about 1638-1640, there exist many subtle changes which make it certain that both are by the hand of Zurbarán. Besides, the brushwork and the quality of the design and of the textures clearly indicate the hand of the master. A copy by a member of Zurbarán's shop, formerly listed as by the school of Velázquez, is in the Walters Art Gallery, no. 1193, at Baltimore. It measures 22 x 31 inches and shows slight variations. The lamb is seen through a painted, oval baroque frame, flowers are lying on the stone and the inscription reads: "OCCISUS AB ORIGINE MUNDI."

"ST. JEROME IN THE DESERT" BY ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN

From an article by E. P. RICHARDSON in the *Bulletin*, III, no. 3 (1947) of the Detroit Institute of Arts



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CORREGGIO, *The Holy Family*
 Los Angeles County Museum

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The great fame of Rogier van der Weyden (born Tournai c. 1399—died Brussels 1464) has a double foundation, in the extraordinary qualities of his art and in the greatness of his influence. He shares with Jan van Eyck the honor of being one of the founders of the Flemish School but his immediate influence upon the art of the fifteenth century was far more widespread than that of Jan van Eyck and was felt throughout the fifteenth century art of Northern Europe. One of the great controversies of modern historical study has revolved about his early years. But it is certain that from 1435 onward he had his workshop in Brussels, where he was the official painter to the city of Brussels and portrait painter to the Dukes of Burgundy. In 1449-50 he visited Italy as a pilgrim to Rome in the year of jubilee and executed commissions for the princes of Este at Ferrara and for the Medici in Florence. After this Italian visit, in his final years, 1450-1464, he produced some of his most remarkable works in which one can see a new monumentality inspired by Italian painting added to the crisp, jewel-like and radiant Gothic style of his middle period. To this last period belong the portrait of *Meliaduse d'Este* in the Metropolitan Museum, the great *Crucifixion* in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia, the *Virgin and Saints* with the Medici arms, at Frankfort-on-Main, the *Altar of the Epiphany* in Munich, and the *St. Jerome in the Desert* which has just been given to Detroit as the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Edgar B. Whitcomb.

Although Rogier van der Weyden had elements of realism in his work, he was much more a Gothic painter than Jan van Eyck. In the art of Van Eyck the lofty, noble, ideal figures of medieval art are translated into individual human beings without losing their medieval grandeur. Rogier van der Weyden's imagination dealt with the generalized type-figures of medieval thought. His realism came in his ability to give to the old



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EL GRECO, *St. John the Baptist*
San Francisco, M. H. De Young Memorial Museum

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imagery of medieval art—saints and angels, biblical scenes and religious allegories—an incomparable freshness, vividness and convincing power. The middle ages had created a complex intellectual world of Christian story, legend and allegory, mingled with history, philosophy, science and popular feeling. As the middle ages drew to a close, art strove to give concrete visual form to every detail of this ideal world and no painter was more gifted than Rogier in giving it new and powerful expression.

St. Jerome in the Desert is characteristic of his work in all respects. Tiny in physical size (approximately 12 by 10 inches) it is a masterpiece of imaginative eloquence and monumental power. Even today when the camera and the printing press present one every day with such a bewildering number of pictures that the visual memory is overwhelmed, this picture is memorable. Once seen, it is never forgotten.

Its subject, St. Jerome (c. 340-420), one of the four great doctors of the Latin church, author of the Latin version of the scriptures (the Vulgate) and an ardent advocate of monastic poverty and self-denial, is one of the most interesting and striking figures in the early history of Christianity. With the rise of Humanism in the fourteenth century, the great scholar-saint was adopted as a symbol of the ideal of classical culture and of the contemplative life; his life became one of the favorite themes of art from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. Although he was a historical personage whose entire career was well known, the middle ages did not fail to weave it about with picturesque and naïve legends. How the lion became attached to him as a symbol is disputed. Dr. Grete Ring, in an article devoted to our picture, has traced the various theories of the rise of the legend. According to one, the lion was first attached to him as a symbol of his ardent nature, his fiery violence in controversy, and of his life in the desert as a peni-

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ten. According to another the Four Latin Fathers were paralleled with the Four Evangelists and the lion of St. Mark was attached to St. Jerome. Medieval fantasy then embroidered the symbol into a long tale. But it is more probable that the old pagan tale of a lion's gratitude, told by Aesop and retold in the story of Androcles and the lion, became attached in some way to St. Jerome. At any rate, by Rogier van der Weyden's time, the legend was firmly established that one day as St. Jerome was sitting at the door of his monastery at Bethlehem, a roaring lion came out of the wilderness. All Jerome's brother monks fled in fear; but Jerome greeted the lion fearlessly as a guest and friend. Observing that the beast was limping and roaring with pain, he removed a great thorn from his paw and tended the wound until the animal was healed. The lion then became his devoted and affectionate companion. (The rest of this engaging story can be read in Mrs. Jameson, who tells it very well indeed.)

Rogier van der Weyden made the story into an image of the beauty of the contemplative spirit and an illustration of the doctrine that the faith of the Christian results in love and kindness toward all fellow creatures. The saint appears twice. In the upper left corner he appears at prayer, his ardent eyes upon heaven, his hand upon the open pages of the Scriptures, his body clothed in a hair shirt instead of a cardinal's gown. This is Jerome as the great saint and ascetic. But in the foreground the saint appears again, seated reading before the door of his hermitage-cavern, in the midst of desolate rocks. He is clad in his scarlet cardinal's robe, which flows in crinkled, Gothic folds to the ground at his feet. With a grave, gentle gesture he has laid aside his book for a moment to help the suffering animal who looks up appealingly and trustingly at his side. The wise, gentle face of the saint, deeply worn but suffused with inner happiness, is an example of Rogier's remarkable vividness and poetry of expression. The beauty of line in the flowing intricate folds of the drapery and the lion's curly mane, the extraordinary radiance of the color, the lofty dignity and restraint of the dramatic tone, are representative of Rogier at his greatest.

The image which Rogier created here became the archetype of a series of paintings, sculptures and prints during the next seventy-five years. It is interesting that one of the compositions which shows its influence, an alabaster statute ascribed to Tilmann Riemenschneider, has just been acquired by the Cleveland Museum of Art.

Rogier's artistic temperament made him prefer the touching and dramatic scene of St. Jerome extracting the thorn from the lion's foot. It was his characteristic contribution to the imagery of the Story of St. Jerome. Jan van Eyck, a different artistic temperament, chose a quieter and more contemplative aspect of the legend. He created for fifteenth century Flemish art a wonderful representation of St. Jerome as a scholar, sitting deep in thought among his books in his study; this representation also had a long and interesting influence. By a singular good fortune we can now enjoy these two remarkable pictures together in the one gallery of our museum.

THE HOLY FAMILY BY CORREGGIO

BY W. R. VALENTINER

Correggio (1489-1534) can be compared to Raphael in the remarkable development of his short career and the widespread influence he exercised upon the art of later centuries. Almost contemporary with Raphael (he was six years Raphael's junior and survived him by fourteen years) he represents the pictorial atmospheric conception and the subtle color taste of the North



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Italian masters of the early High Renaissance, as Raphael does the linear and plastic style of Florence and Central Italy.

Trained under Mantegna and Costa, Correggio soon overcame the hard and relief-like Quattrocento style and followed Leonardo da Vinci's innovations in subduing line and color to a pronounced chiaroscuro, producing a style of soft modeling in the round. He may be said to have brought to an easy perfection that which Leonardo had begun and left unfinished. Of sensitivity equal to the great Florentine master Leonardo, he is less intellectual and many-sided, more naïve and sensuous. Compared to Raphael however, he appears to be possessed of stronger emotions which carry him away at times to the expression of an exaggerated sweetness of sentiment. It is easy to understand why Correggio with his charm, his sweetness and his refined sensuousness should have been so greatly admired by the French painters of the eighteenth century.

In his last and greatest phase, his frescoes at Parma, he developed a space conception unique in the art of his time by opening the ceiling into a far and fantastic view of sky and clouds from which figures emerge in an incomparable rhythm of light movements. In this achievement Correggio was imitated by all the great fresco painters of the baroque, from Carracci to Tiepolo; and it is characteristic that the first and the last masters of this period, Annibale Carracci and Anton Raphael Mengs, esteemed him above Michelangelo.

The painting which the Los Angeles County Museum has acquired is well known to art students. It came from the collection of Mrs. Mary B. Brandegee of Boston, who acquired it from Fairfax-Murray of London. It has been reproduced in the leading books on Correggio by Adolfo Venturi, Corrado Ricci and Georg Gronau, and is described by Bernhard Berenson and by Lionello Venturi (*Italian Paintings in American Collections*, pl. 468). It shows the young painter as remarkably mature in the exquisite delineation of the fine features of the Madonna and the Child, whose shining dark eyes and twisted locks are still reminiscent of Mantegna. The subtle colors—the pale rose of the Virgin's dress, her blue mantle with green lining—are illuminated as by magic and subordinated to the chiaroscuro through which the figures are modeled. The group of the Virgin with the Christ Child and the little St. John is closely knit together by the hands of the Madonna who lightly touches the children upon their shoulders, and by the elderly, white-haired Joseph whose figure forms a contrast by offering a diagonal movement in the opposite direction from the Virgin's head.

The mysterious, slightly melancholy mood of the composition recalls to mind Vasari's description of Correggio as a shy, retiring person, of delicate constitution and inclined to melancholy.

The painting can be dated almost to its exact year of execution. It was probably done in 1514 or 1515, in the year that Correggio painted his first large altarpiece, the *Enthroned Madonna with St. Francis*, formerly in the Dresden Gallery (now said to have been removed to Russia). It agrees with the Dresden picture in many details, especially in the types of the Virgin and the Child.

The Brandegee Madonna is the first great painting of the Italian Renaissance to have come into the possession of the Los Angeles County Museum.

"ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST" BY EL GRECO

A *St. John the Baptist*, a late work of El Greco, has recently been purchased by the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum in San Francisco. Painted between 1597 and 1602, El Greco has represented the Saint in the typical Byzantine manner, emaciated and half-naked, his torso covered with a lambskin, his

elongated face accentuated by his shaggy hair and beard. In his left hand he carries a long staff in the form of a cross and at his feet rests the Lamb of God.

The canvas (43¼ x 26 inches) is signed in Greek script on the rock at the lower right. Another slightly later version combined with St. John the Evangelist, is in the Hospital de S. Juan Bautista, Toledo. The Museum's painting was formerly in the Convent Carmelitas Descalzas, San José, Malagon, Spain, until 1929; then in the collection of Consul Felix Schlayer of Madrid.

Dr. Walter Heil, director of the de Young Museum, says, in the foreword of an exhibition of El Greco's works, which is now being held at the museum:

"The last thirty years of Greco's life were filled with work and rich in success. At the beginning of this period (1586) stands the work considered by many as his greatest achievement: *The Burial of Count Orgaz*, in the Church of San Tomé in Toledo. The huge painting should really be called the 'Miracle of the Burial of Orgaz,' as it depicts the strange and marvelous event when, at the ceremonies of interment of Don Gonzales Ruiz, Conde de Orgaz, in the Church San Tomé, suddenly two saints, St. Augustine and St. Stephen, descended from Heaven and relieved the priests of the task of placing the body in his tomb. The subject of the picture, carefully specified in the contract by the Church authorities, gave Greco all the pictorial opportunities he could have hoped for: the Saints in their shimmering garments in the foreground, surrounded by priests and a galaxy of noblemen who candidly, though piously, seem to accept the miracle as an evident honor bestowed upon as gallant a knight as their dead friend, Orgaz; and above, the whole glory of the open sky, with the Saints, the nobles of the Kingdom of Heaven. It is here that we may for the first time quite distinctly observe those 'unnatural' elongations and de-



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formations of bodies for which Greco had been both condemned and celebrated. Here, too, can already be found the proof that these deviations from the accepted norm were deliberately employed by the artist in order to convey the magic of the Supernatural, for they occur only among the celestial hosts, whereas the earthly spectators are shown well proportioned and as realistic as Frans Hals' stolid Dutch burghers.

"As to his private life, we know that shortly after his arrival at Toledo he entered into a union, later probably followed by marriage, with an attractive young woman, Doña Geronima de las Cuevas, who bore him a son, Jorge Manuel, in 1578. He seems to have lived in good financial circumstances, almost extravagantly one is inclined to say, as he rented in 1585 a twenty-four-room palace from a local nobleman. A highly educated man, he knew Latin, Greek, Italian and Spanish and, as the small but choice library he left behind indicates, he was well read in the poetic and philosophic literature in all these four languages. His artistic activity comprised, besides painting, architectural design and sculpture. He was also concerned with the theories of art. A book of his on the subject, mentioned by Pacheco, unfortunately is lost. He was on terms of friendship with scholars and other leading spirits of Toledo, some of whom he immortalized with his brush.

"Turning to Greco's art, it must be stressed above all that he had the faith in himself which marks the true genius. His move to Spain may have been motivated by his realization that he would be hampered by the powerful artistic traditions of Italy. He needed the new and unexplored environment of Spain to liberate himself from the constraints of his Italian teachings and to regain his own originality and daring. Even in Spain, though he adapted himself in many respects, he remained a singular phenomenon.

"Being profoundly religious, he strove for the expression of his visions of the Transcendental. Time and again we find him under suspicion, and often dangerously close to the grasp of the Inquisition, because his fervid interpretations had gone beyond the limits of the formulated faith. His endeavor to render the visionary and supernal must have obsessed him at an early age. His friend, Clovio, relates that when visiting him on a beautiful spring day he found him working with all shutters closed. 'It is because the light of the day troubles my inner light,' commented the artist. In his compositions Greco is a true inventor who found strikingly new solutions for themes which had been for long conventionalized. Well-meaning physicians have made the attempt to ascribe his purposeful distortions to astigmatism and even to mental disease. Nothing could be farther from the truth, as has been already alluded to above. We have the testimony of the painter himself who once stated that he wanted to make the figures large, 'since they were celestial figures and that lights, even small, seem large when seen from afar.' Together with such means of linear stylization Greco employs a play of light and color, further to express the heavenly nature of his saints. His mystic concept of the infinity of space even permeates his landscapes, such as the celebrated *View of Toledo*. As a painter proper, a manipulator of brush and paint, he ranks with the very greatest. He is a virtuoso craftsman, comparable to Rubens or Renoir, Titian or Manet. Coloristically, he remained Venetian and never quite adopted the darkness and harshness of the true Spaniards. He can make his colors 'sing,' even a black.

"Greco's influence upon modern art has, in my opinion, been exaggerated. True, his rediscovery coincided with, and was in part related to, new trends of painting in the late nineteenth century, just as the rediscovery of Jan Vermeer coincided with the advent of Impressionism a generation earlier. True, also, that Cézanne has something in common with the master of

Toledo, inasmuch as both considered reality only as a point of departure, as a suggestion to construct an ideal world of their own.

"But Greco's art can hardly serve as model for our moderns. To imitate it would be denying the very essence of the lesson we may learn from him: that the artist has a right, from his thoughts and passions, to create his own image of the world. In this sense the man who succeeded in giving the most convincing tangible appearance to the mystical reality of the Divine may well be a model."

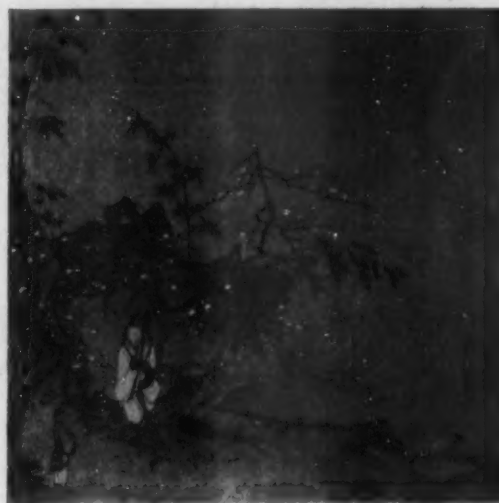
"ACHILLES ON SKYROS" BY NICOLAS POUSSIN

From an article by RICHARD B. K. McLANATHAN in the February, 1947, *Bulletin*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Poussin, for all his essential practicality, seems largely to have lived in an ideal world of his own creation. It was a world inhabited, for the most part, by the gods and heroes of Greece and Rome and the figures of the Old and New Testaments, all assimilated to his individual, baroque classicism through the classification, adopted from musical theory, of painting into modes: Dorian for the severe and static; Lydian for the sad and elegiac; Hypolydian for the religious; Ionic for the gay and festive; and Phrygian for the dramatic. His expression of this world was influenced by the Venetians, especially Titian, whose Bacchanals then in Rome he studied and is said to have copied, and by the works of Raphael and his followers, perhaps to some extent already known to him through Marcantonio's engravings, and by the Bolognese eclectics. For him, the rediscovery of the Ancients was the rediscovery of reason; his humanism is expressed in the painstaking clarity of his artistic conceptions, and he achieved an increasingly personal re-creation of the classic past based upon an acquaintance with ancient literature, painting, sculpture and architecture.

The Museum is fortunate in having two important paintings which well represent the two dominant aspects of his *oeuvre*, the *Mars and Venus* of the earlier '30's, a work in the Ionic mode which reflects his interest in the Venetian Renaissance, and the *Achilles on Skyros*, recently added to the Museum's collections, in the Phrygian mode and both more classical and more Raphaelesque. Bellori has described the painting as representing "Achilles, with one knee on the ground, drawing a sword from its scabbard. A little in front of him a daughter of Lycomedes, leaning forward toward the traveling merchants to extend her hand into the chest which lies on the ground, turns backward, astonished at the flash of the weapon, terrified, she raises her other hand in wonder at the bare steel. But Ulysses, kneeling opposite with Diomedes, watches intently and recognizes the youthful warrior, while his companion gives a mirror to one of the girls who stands with another of her sisters and points at the precious jewels in the chest."

Because of the strictness with which Poussin regarded the modes, there are often dangers in attempting to date his paintings on the basis of stylistic evidence alone. However, it is fairly clear in this case that the newly acquired picture is a work of his full maturity, related, as Dr. Friedländer has pointed out, to such other works as the Louvre's *Death of Sapphira* of 1645-7, the *Eleazer and Rebecca* of 1648, and the *Judgment of Solomon* of 1649. It is highly probable that it was done after the second series of the *Seven Sacraments*, executed between 1644 and 1648, and before the work more strongly leading into his latest manner, an early representative of which is the *Holy Family* of c. 1651, formerly in the collection of Mrs. Samuel Sachs and now in the Fogg Museum of Art in Cambridge. Therefore, a time in the late '40's, perhaps 1646 to 1650, may well be as satisfactory and precise a date as can,



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in the complete absence of known documentary evidence, be suggested. The picture seems clearly to belong to a post-Venetian phase of his development as its sculptural modeling with a strong stress on formal definition demonstrates. The pyramidal structure of the composition reflects the influence of Raphael, here combined with strong evidences of his study of the antique as may be seen in the abstract relation of lighter colors, perhaps the result of his observations of ancient encaustic painting, and in the pose of the individual figures and the careful details of headdress and other such accessories many of which may be traced to near prototypes in antique reliefs. Suggestions of Venetian art remain in the rich landscape background, but the carefully isolated and constructed group of figures, realized in almost sculptural terms, clearly reflect the ideals of his full maturity before, in his latest work, the outlines begin further to soften and the transitions to blur into the broader and more atmospheric pictorialism of his last years.

There are several paintings of this subject which seem to be related, probably only one of which, beside the Museum's picture, is by Poussin himself. This version is lost and is known through an engraving by Pietro del Po. It, too, is described by Bellori and appears on stylistic grounds to be that recorded by Félibien as having been painted for the duc de Créqui in 1656.

In 1920 another representation of the subject which shows the event in a classical interior was given by M. Paul Jamot to the Louvre. It was published in the same year as a work of Poussin but has not generally been accepted as such, though it may be related in some way to Poussin. The history of this picture is, so far, completely unknown. There is also another painting of the subject in ruinous condition, which has recently come to light. It appears to be a mediocre academic work of

the earlier eighteenth century, probably French, which borrows the motive of the seated girl trying on an earring from the lost Poussin version. Beyond the fact that it was bought in Florence toward the end of the last century, nothing is known of its history; so despite its possible derivation, it is of little help in disentangling the various versions.

Smith gives a pedigree for the Museum's picture which has heretofore been generally accepted: Prince de Conti, 1777; Welbore Agar Ellis, 1807; John Knight, 1819; Stephen Jarrett. On checking the catalogues of the sales, however, it is clear that at least two versions of the subject have been confused. There is only a very brief description in the Conti catalogue, but the statement that "de l'architecture et du paysage enrichissent le fond" suggests the lost version rather than any other one known. The catalogue also gives the information that the Conti picture was previously in the collection of "MM. de la Curne & de Sainte-Palais." The Conti sale, evidently conducted by Rémy, took place on April 8, 1777, in Paris, and April 18 of the same year there appeared at Christie's "from abroad" a "Discovery of Achilles" which was sold to an anonymous purchaser. Since there seems to have been no description of the picture in this sale, it is impossible to determine which version may have come up on this date, though the intervening ten days hardly seem sufficient time for the Conti painting to have been resold in London. Smith's listing of the picture as in the possession of Stephen Jarrett at the time of the writing of his catalogue probably ought to be taken as fact, and it is likely that he saw the picture because of his detailed description of it. His catalogue was published in 1838 so this may be the only definite reference to the painting since Bellori.

In 1924 M. d'Atri, a Parisian dealer, bought the picture from Mr. Anthony Reyre. It was two years later that Dr. Friedländer saw it in Paris and published it in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*. It thereafter passed into the hands of Wildenstein and Company.

The Museum's picture represents the moment of the discovery of Achilles who was disguised as a girl by Thetis, his mother, to escape the death prophesied for him should he participate in the Trojan campaign. The youthful hero's interest in the sword, which, with the helmet in the left foreground the crafty Ulysses, in the guise of a merchant, included with the merchandise, betrays his identity to the watchful Greek captain. One of the princesses, kneeling to the right of the chest sees the event with fear and alarm; she may be Deidamia, the mother of Achilles' son, Neoptolemus. The simple, architectural details which frame the scene, and the trees and vista of landscape in the background, suggest a setting in an open court of Lycomedes' palace looking out upon the countryside of the island. Poussin has chosen to represent the dramatic climax of the episode, the revelation of Achilles' identity, and has composed the figures in a highly organized group to express to the fullest extent the tensions among the three main participants, in contrast to the three figures to the rear who are related merely by the mundane act of bargaining. The whole is an example of those high abilities as a narrative painter for which Bernini praised him, yet the arrangement has a classic inevitability which gives it an interest aside from its intellectual content.

The subject of the painting is derived from an episode of the Trojan Cycle which must have been a part of the Kypria; Polygnotus is recorded as having painted it and it is also generally considered to have occurred in the Skýrioi, Euripides' lost tragedy, which may be the source of most subsequent versions. It has been generally stated that the legend in the form in which Poussin represents it may be found in Homeric writings, but this seems fairly clearly not to be the case. The version

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According to the scholiast in *Iliad* XIX, 332, is closer to the familiar one but still lacks, among other important details, the element of Ulysses' disguise. Ulysses' disguise is not only an important part of Poussin's interpretation, but also of those of Rubens, Van Dyck and Tiepolo, and of the version of the story which seems to be most popularly known today. It is a matter of some difficulty to determine the source of this aspect of the episode. It may lie in some later interpretation based on Ovid, because, in his account, he uses *merx* to refer to the objects which Ulysses brought to the princesses of Skyros. Thus its employment in this context may have given rise to the idea of Ulysses acting as merchant, a part a great warrior could not conceivably have played unless he were so disguised for some specific purpose, though it is much more credible in the case of Ulysses because of his reputation as a strategist of the most cunning sort.

However, there are two other sources which do not seem to have been mentioned in this connection. One is an account, given by Natale Conti, of the episode which is in complete agreement in all its essential details with both of Poussin's interpretations as well as those of other painters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The other is an apparently lost painting by Annibale Carracci which is preserved in an engraving by Gérard Audran. The former seems fundamental to both Poussin's paintings of the subject, while the latter appears clearly

to be the source of the composition of the later painting. The description appears in Conti's *Mythology*, a general compendium of the subject which, as Professor Jean Seznac has shown, served as an artist's handbook as well as a general reference work and was readily accessible and in the broadest current usage from the end of the sixteenth through the seventeenth century.

The character of the group in Poussin's later painting is different, indeed, from that in his earlier version. The figures are arranged in a less geometric fashion; the whole is looser in organization, more static, less dramatic and less tense, in the manner of his later works. Furthermore, the broad landscape, with the palace on the hill in the background perhaps recalling, in a general fashion, certain elements of the Temple of Fortune complex at Praeneste, appears to have the "tone . . . of contemplation and of detachment" which becomes typical of his late work.

Thus, in its recent acquisition of the earlier of the two great versions of Poussin's *Achilles on Skyros*, the Museum has added to its collections not only a fine example of the mature style of one of the greatest French artists, but also a work of outstanding interest in its relation to a problem of considerable significance both for Poussin and for certain important aspects of European art of the seventeenth century as well.

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS IN THE FIELD OF ART

MONGAN, AGNES and SACHS, PAUL J. *Drawings in the Fogg Museum of Art*. Harvard University Press, 1946. \$25.00.

A new two-volume edition of this well-known work, which has been out of print for years, will be even more useful than the preceding edition. The text in this edition is given in volume I while the second volume is devoted to the more than 400 collotype illustrations.

Mastai's *Classified Directory of American Art and Antique Dealers*. Third edition, 1947. Boleslaw Mastai, 104 East 57th, New York. \$5.00.

The new edition of this well-known and useful publication has been expanded to include Canada, Mexico, Latin America, France, Switzerland and The Netherlands, including a directory of art museum personnel and a list of auction prices paid in New York for paintings from Sept., 1943 to May, 1946.

LANDSBERGER, FRANZ. *Rembrandt, The Jews and The Bible*. Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1946. 189 pp., 66 illus.

Professor Landsberger says in his introduction, "It has often proved a comfort to me, in this era of European Jewish tragedy, to dwell upon the life and work of Rembrandt. Here was a man of Germanic ancestry who did not regard the Jews in the Holland of his day as a 'misfortune', but approached them with friendly sentiments, dwelt in their midst, and portrayed their personalities and way of life." This book is written as an interpretative study to show Rembrandt as the greatest and most inspiring illustrator of Jewish life and of the Bible.

Konsthistorisk Tidskrift, XV (1946), häfte 3-4, Special Number: "Swedish Van Gogh Studies."

This well-known Swedish journal of art history inaugurates in this issue a new policy of publishing once each year a number written almost entirely in an internationally understood language, instead of in Swedish with the usual brief English summaries. This gesture toward international communication by the Swedish art historians is highly welcome to those of us to whom the brief summaries have often offered in the past tantalizing but insufficient glimpses of serious and useful studies.

The present issue is devoted to articles based upon the important Van Gogh exhibition of 1946 at the National Museum, Stockholm. An article by Carl Nordenfalk, docent at the University of Stockholm and keeper at the museum, who initiated the exhibit, surveys the gradual development of Swedish art criticism in its view of Van Gogh from the 1880's toward the tremendous success of the present exhibit. Carlo Derkert's "Theory and Practice in Van Gogh's Dutch Painting" is a valuable contribution to the development of Van Gogh's palette and use of color. Two essays by several students are devoted to the relation of a landscape acquired by Stockholm in 1914 to an earlier picture of the same scene, now in the Toledo Museum, with in-

teresting results. Ake Meyerson's "Van Gogh and the School of Pont-Aven," a study of the relation between Van Gogh's passionate individuality and his artistic friends and their works, concludes the series. These Swedish Van Gogh studies are well worth being put in a form available to a wider audience than that of Swedish readers alone.

HONEY, W. B. *Glass, A Handbook and a Guide to the Museum Collections*. Victoria and Albert Museum, 1946.

The glass collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum is now one of the most important in the world. This handbook, written to offer both a survey of the collection and of the history and art of glass making from the earliest times to the present, is an admirable example of English scholarship at its best, exact, economical, thorough and humane. 72 pages of excellent plates offer illustrations of 322 objects. The text offers an historical, technical and esthetic introduction, bibliography, chapters on Egyptian, Roman, medieval European and Islamic, Venetian, German and Bohemian, English, Netherlandish, French, Spanish, Chinese, Scandinavian and American glass. There are no illustrations of American glass and apparently only one piece in the collection; the discussion of American glass is thus brief and for general information only. Students and collectors will welcome this most useful and effective publication, which deserves a wide audience.

KELLEY, CHARLES FABENS and GENTLES, MARGARET O. *An Exhibition of Antique Oriental Rugs*. Art Institute of Chicago, 1947.

The catalogue of an exhibition of 114 Oriental rugs, ranging from the fifth century Coptic rug fragment belonging to the Metropolitan Museum of Art to the nineteenth century, is done in the form of a very brief listing (too brief, perhaps, for dimensions are omitted) and 56 plates, forming a useful picture book.

Sculpture by Houdon, Paintings and Drawings by David. The Century Association, New York City, 1947.

A handsomely produced catalogue of an exhibition of 10 examples of Houdon's work, 25 paintings and 4 drawings by David, from American public and private collections. Essay on Houdon by William M. Milliken, on David by James Thrall Soby. A careful catalogue, with 20 excellent plates.

Significant War Scenes by Battlefront Artists. The Chrysler Corporation, 1947. 16 plates.

Sixteen of the best American painters who had been engaged in painting the war, were asked by the Chrysler Corporation to sum up their war experience in a painting of a decisive action in which each had taken part. These definitive statements by 16 men are good reporting and good reflective painting. The catalogue reproduces each picture, with the artist's own commentary on his subject and biography of the artist.

BOUCHER, FRANCOIS. *Trois Siècles de Dessin Parisien*. Paris, Musée Carnavalet, 1946. 16 plates, 118 pages.

The reopening of the Musée Carnavalet was marked by an exhibition of 360 drawings from its great collection (more than 8000 in all) consecrated to the documentation of the life and history of the city of Paris. This catalogue will be useful to students as an introduction and sample (only a twentieth part) of a remarkable collection of graphic arts.

Works by Edgar Degas. The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1947. 24 pages, 76 illus., 1 color reproduction. Foreword by William M. Milliken; introduction by Henry Sayles Francis.

The catalogue, like the exhibition of works by Edgar Degas, is formed around the painting *Frieze of Dancers*, acquired by The Cleveland Museum in 1946 through the gift of Hanna Fund. Represented from the exhibition of eighty-six pieces, which were loaned by museums, private collectors and dealers, are the wide range of media, subject-matter and technique through which Degas expressed his reactions to the world about him. Whether drawing with a single line, manipulating rich color areas in oil or pastel or modeling freely with clay, whether the subject is a ballet dancer, a thoroughbred or a laundress, Degas achieved the effect of arrested motion which gives to his work the mobility of life. This quality is indicated clearly in the catalogue, as is the extent and importance of the American collection of Degas' work.

Arte Veneta, A Quarterly Review of the History of Art. January-March, 1947, no. 1. Casa Editrice Arte Veneta.

The appearance of a new review, in handsome format and with a distinguished directive committee headed by Professor Fiocco and under the direction of Dr. Rodolfo Pallucchini, is a gratifying and auspicious event. The editors state: "The pro-

gram of this new review is implicit in the title *Arte Veneta*, in which the adjective, describing a point of observation, determines a field of research without limiting the universal character of artistic expression." The first issue contains articles by Luigi Coletti "Venetian Painting of the 14th to 15th Centuries"; Lionello Venturi "Three Venetian Pictures in the Rabinowitz Collection"; Bernard Berenson "Restudying Tintoretto and Titian"; Giuseppe Fiocco "The Painter Pietro de Mariscalchi da Feltre"; Nicola Ivanoff "A contribution on Sebastiano Mazzoni"; briefer articles by K. T. Parker, Fabio Mauroner, Ferdinando Forlati, Vittorio Moschini; notes on the restoration of the paintings of Carpaccio in S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni; a bibliography of Venetian art 1940-46; and an English summary. The new review will be welcomed by American scholars.

GORIS, JAN-ALBERT and HELD, JULIUS S. *Rubens in America*. 120 plates. Pantheon, \$8.50.

Jan-Albert Goris has contributed to this work of collaboration an interesting essay on the history of the understanding of Rubens in America. Dr. Held has added a catalogue of Rubens' paintings and drawings in American collections. The catalogue contains 126 works given to Rubens himself and 106 which in Dr. Held's opinion are not done by Rubens. The whole question of Rubens' *oeuvre* is one of great complexity and difficulty—the large workshop of the master, the numerous old and excellent replicas both by the artist and by contemporary hands, the variety of free copies, the lack of sure knowledge of the *oeuvres* of Rubens' assistants, make it a study of peculiar difficulty. Dr. Held's list differs in numerous respects from the opinions of Glück, Oldenbourg and Valentiner (in the list published in this magazine, IX [1946], 155-168), giving a measure of the problems still to be clarified before a general agreement may be reached.